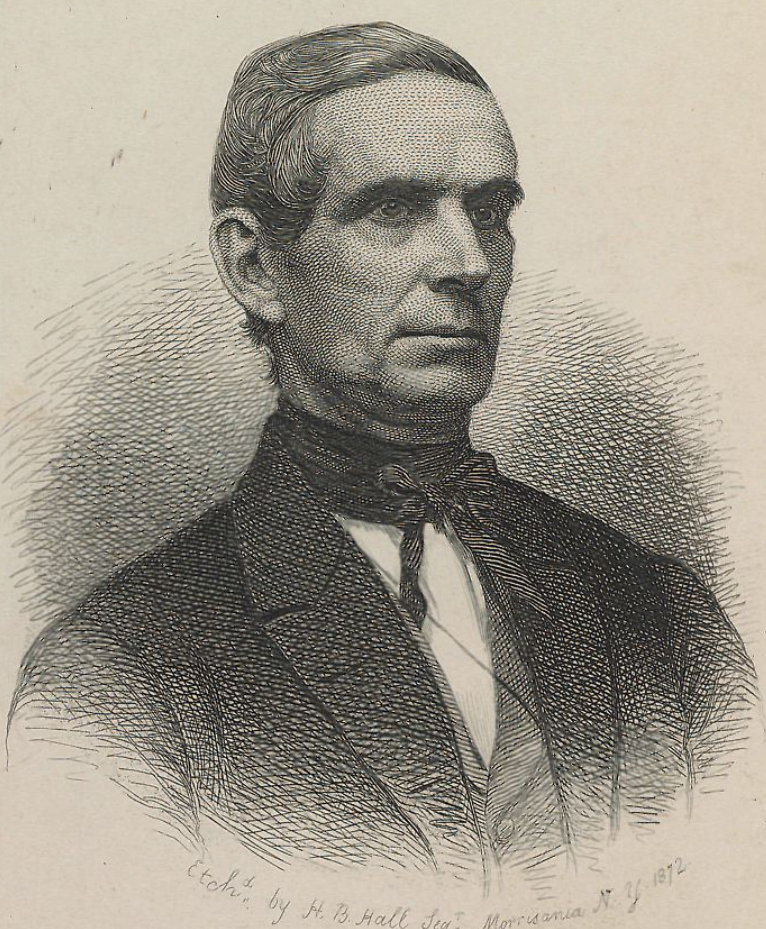
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1

"I have gathered a nosegay of flowers, and there is nothing of my own but the string that ties them." . . . . . MONTAIGNE.

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A

BRIEF DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW YORK,

FORMERLY CALLED

NEW NETHERLANDS,

WITH THE PLACES THEREUNTO ADJOINING.

LIKEWISE

A BRIEF RELATION

OF THE CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS THERE.

BY DANIEL DENTON.

A NEW EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COPIOUS HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY GABRIEL FURMAN,

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Of all the lands that heav'n o'erspreads with light!
There's none, ah! none so lovely to my sight,
In wavy gold thy summer vales are dress'd
Thy autumns bend with copious fruit oppress'd;
With flocks and herds each grassy plain is stor'd;
And fish of every fin, thy seas afford:
Woods crown thy mountains, and in every grove
The bounding goats and frisking heifers rove:
Soft rains and kindly dews refresh the field
And rising springs eternal verdure yield.—Homer.

And to be short, all they that have been there with one consent affirme, that there are the goodliest greene meadows and plaines, the fairest mountains covered with all sorts of trees and fruites, the fairest vallies, the goodliest pleasant fresh rivers, stored with infinite kind of fishes, the thickest woods, greene and bearing fruite all the whole yeere, that are in all the world. And as for gold, silver and other kind of metals, all kind of spices and delectable fruites, both for delicacie and health are there in such abundance, as hitherto they have beene thought to have been bred no where else but there. And in conclusion it is nowe thought that no where else but under the equinoctiall, or not far from thence, is the earthly paradise, and the only place of perfection in this world.....*Richard Hakluyt.*



NEW YORK:
WILLIAM GOWANS.

1845.

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W. GOWANS, *Publisher.*

INTRODUCTION.

This work is one of the gems of American history, being the first printed description, in the English language, of the country now forming the wealthy and populous State of New York, and also the State of New Jersey; both being under one government at that time. And so great is its rarity, that until the importation of the volume from which this small edition is printed, but two copies were known to exist in the United States, one in the State Library, at Albany, and the other in the collection of Harvard University. The only sale catalogues in which this work has appeared, are those of Nassau, Warden, and Rich; and as these three catalogues are of different dates, the notices of Denton occurring in them, may all refer to the same copy, or at the most, probably, to two copies. The work is in the library of Mr. Aspinwall, American Consul in London, and also in that of the British Museum;—these are the only two accessible in England.

Mensel (x. 367,) gives "Denton's description of New York. London, 1701, 4to," and adds,—"Liber rarrissimus videtur, de qui nullibi quidquam, præter hanc epigraphen mancam, reperire licet." The title as given by Mensel appears in Eberling's compends of the histories of New York and New Jersey, with the * prefixed, indicating that the author had never himself seen the work.

Hubbard and Neal in their histories seem to have had access to it; and the article on New York, as contained in the America of "John Ogilby, Esq., his Majesty's Cosmographer, Geographic Printer, and Master of the Revels," is

mainly drawn from the works of Montanus and Denton, without the slightest indication of the sources of his information,

The reader will not fail to observe, how large a portion of the volume is devoted to Long Island, and the city of New York. The reason for this, is to be found in the fact, that at that early period more than two-thirds of the population of the Colony was located on those two islands. Schenectady was then, and for a considerable period subsequently, the frontier town, and most western settlement of the white inhabitants; as its name then most properly indicated, meaning *the first place seen after coming out of the woods.* It was surrounded by a double stockade, forming a large square fortification, with a blockhouse at each corner. The largest one, on the northwesterly corner of the town, was also used as a church, the only one then in that place.

So much exposed was Schenectady, from its frontier position, that twenty years after the original publication of this work, in 1690, it was sacked and burnt by the French and Indians, under M. de Herville; who entered it at night, broke open every dwelling, and murdered all they met, without distinction of age, sex or condition, and during the havoc set the town in flames. The greater portion of the population fell beneath the tomahawk, or were made prisoners and carried into Canada. Some few escaped to Albany, and the nearest villages of the Five Nations of Indians; and others perished miserably in the forest, the ground being covered with snow, and those who escaped, being obliged to do so half naked and bare foot.

The defenceless state of the country, from its sparse population, may be inferred from the fact, that when the news of this horrible massacre reached Albany the next day, the inhabitants of that city were many of them so greatly alarmed, that they resolved to seek refuge in New York. And probably they would have done so but for the Mohawk

Indians, who then lived between Albany and Cattskill, and also west of that city, who persuaded them to remain. These Indians not only afforded their advice in this emergency, but they also sent information to their Onondaga confederates, who despatched a body of their warriors in pursuit of the enemy, overtook them, and killed twenty-five of their number.

Between Schenectady and Albany there were no settlements, all was in a wild forest state. Albany itself was a fortification, surrounded by a line of stockade, with seven blockhouses and bastions. On the hill where now stands the capitol, was a large stone fort overlooking the city and the surrounding country; on which were mounted twenty-one heavy cannon; and in it was the residence of the Governor of the city, with officers' lodgings, and soldiers' barracks. This fort was so extensive, that about this period there were two large gardens constructed in the ditch, south and west of the city.

Albany had then its centre at State street, with one street, (Beaver street,) south of it, and another street north. Market street, then called Handler's street, Green street and Pearl street, crossing State street, composed the whole city. The "Colonie," as it was then, and is by many still called, was a small settlement immediately north of Albany, and in continuation of Handler's street. The city had at that time but two churches; the Dutch Calvanist, standing in State street at its junction with Handler's street, (the foundation of this ancient church was uncovered about two years since, in making some repairs in the street;) and the Dutch Lutheran Church in Pearl, near Beaver street.

The country at that early period was but little better settled between Albany and New York, on the Hudson river. The only town of any note then, was Kingston, or Esopus; and that also was fortified with blockhouses and stockades; and a portion of it specially strengthened as a citadel, within which was the only church in that region.

This place also, strange as it may now seem to us, was so far frontier in its character, as to be regarded far from being secure from attack. Only twenty-seven years before the destruction of Schenectady, Kingston was also burnt by the Indians, and many of its inhabitants killed and taken prisoners. This event occurred on the 7th of June, 1663, only seven years previous to the first publication of this work. Governor Stuyvesant communicated this destruction of Kingston to the churches in New York, and on Long Island, and recommended to them, "To observe and keep the ensuing Wednesday as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer to the Almighty, hoping that he may avert further calamity from the New Netherlands, and extend his fatherly protection and care to the country." The Governor a few days after, directed that Wednesday, the 4th day of July, 1663, should be observed as a day of thanksgiving, on account of a treaty of peace having been made with the Indians who sacked Kingston, and for the release of the inhabitants who had been taken prisoners.

The foregoing circumstances will show the reason why, in a description of the Colony of New York as it existed in 1670, so large a space should bave been appropriated to Long Island and the city of New York; they in reality then constituted the force and efficiency of the Colony. The other places were regarded as mere appendages, necessary to be sustained for the purposes of their fur trade with the Indians; and as fortified outposts to keep the savages from the cultivated and thickly settled portions of the country.

The character of this work for accuracy in describing the manners and customs of the Colonists, and also of the Aborigines, is admitted by all; and in the eastern part of Long Island, we had very recently the opportunity of testing the truth of some of its statements made in 1670.

Denton speaks particularly of the fishery on Long Island for whales, and for fish generally. This whale fishery is

still continued on the Island, and whales were taken off Southampton as late as 1842. When the writer of this notice travelled through Long Island, on the south side, from Brooklyn to Montauk point, during the month of August, about fourteen years since, he remained several days at Saggharbor. During his stay at that place, on a beautiful summer afternoon, he crossed the Island to the south beach, near Amagansett. Along this beach, which stretched in view for many miles, was a line of white sand hillocks crowned with scrubby bushes; and occasionally, at long intervals, small thatched huts, or wigwams, with a long pole rising from the tops, were to be seen on the highest of these sand elevations. These huts were occupied at certain seasons by men on the watch for whales; and when they discovered them spouting or playing on the ocean, a signal was hoisted on the pole, and directly the inhabitants came down with their whaling boats on wheels, launched them from the beach, and were off in pursuit of the prize. Near the houses these whaling boats were to be seen turned upside down, lying upon a frame under some trees, to shade them from the sun. Throughout the whole eastern part of the Island three or four families clubbed together and owned such a boat; they were easily transported to the beach on the wheels of a wagon, drawn by two horses or oxen; and as they have no harbors on that portion of the south side, it was the only way they could safely keep them, for they would be dashed in pieces by the surf if left upon the open shore, or even if kept covered on the beach; the storms sometimes being so heavy as to throw the surf over the sand hills, and even to beat them down.

This journey was then one of the most interesting tours in the State, both for variety of scenery and incident. The whole south side of the Island is replete with legends and stories of pirates, shipwrecks, and strange out of the way matters. The only mode of conveyance at that late period through the Island, was by the mail stage, which made one

trip a week, and was two days in going from Brooklyn to Saggharbor. The writer performed this journey in company with a friend, and believes they walked about one quarter of the distance, frequently getting far a head of the stage whilst it stopped at some country post office, or to throw out two or three newspapers to be carried over the fields to some small village which lay a mile or two off the post route. One of these primitive post offices was a small box on an old tree in the forest, at the intersection of two roads; not a soul was near it, yet the packages left to be delivered, or placed there to be taken further on, always found their destination without accident. These walks were enlivened by tales and reminiscences, of which the people met along the route were full, and pleased with the opportunity of telling to those who were willing to lend a listening ear.

This jaunt will always be looked back upon with satisfaction, but with regret that it can never be taken again under the same circumstances. The old mail route is broken up;—and now by means of the rail road, and other facilities, we rather fly than stroll through the delightful scenery of this beautiful region. It was then something of an undertaking to get to Montauk Point; now we will meet with a hundred tourists for pleasure where we then would see one. Then there were but few taverns throughout the whole distance, and in some places none. The inhabitants were delighted to see strangers,—were primitive in their manners and customs, so much so, that it was a great pleasure to visit them. Now there are taverns everywhere, and in the summer they are filled with visiters. The people have ceased to offer their hospitalities, except to those with whom they are personally acquainted, otherwise from the great influx of strangers they might be imposed upon. In place of the kind open-hearted reception then to be met with from all classes and both sexes, you will at present discover little, or no differenee between their manners and those of the inhabitants of our larger towns; and in order

now to have any intercourse with either sex, and especially with the ladies, a previous introduction is necessary, and even after that, in place of the frolicksome, kind-humored attentions then received, all is tinctured with distance and reserve. This change may have been inevitable, and in truth absolutely necessary, by reason of their change of circumstances, and situation with reference to the travelling world, yet it is nevertheless much to be regretted.

Several pages are devoted to an account of the Indian tribes which lived in the immediate vicinity of New York, and of their customs. To us, who have never thought of an Indian but as being hundreds of miles distant, it may seem strange that in connection with the city of New York so much should be said about these savage nations. But New York was then the great mart of the Indian fur trade. What St. Louis on the Mississippi now is, New York city then was. And the main supply of provisions in the market of our city was at that period derived from the Aborigines; who furnished it "with Venison and Fowl in the Winter, and Fish in the Summer."

And what adds peculiarly to the value of this work, is that it gives us a more full and correct account of the customs and habits of these Indian tribes which have been for very many years utterly extinct, than is to be found in any other publication.

Daniel Denton, the author of this work, was one of the first settlers of the town of Jamaica, in Queens County on Long Island, and was a magistrate in that town. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Richard Denton, the first minister of Hempstead, on this Island, and came with his father from Stamford in the year 1644; he seems to have been a considerable landholder in the country he describes, and directly after the taking of New York from the Dutch by Nicolls, and in the same year 1664, we find him still a resident of Jamaica, and engaged in the purchase of a large tract of land from the Indians in New Jersey. Smith in his history of New Jersey,

(which is also a very rare item in the Bibliotheca Americana, states, that, "it was in 1664 that John Bailey, *Daniel Denton*, and Luke Watson, of Jamaica, on Long Island, purchased of certain Indian Chiefs, inhabitants of Staten Island, a tract or tracts of land, on part of which the town of Elizabeth now stands."—(Smith's history of New Jersey, 8vo. Burlington, N. J. 1765, page 62.)

Denton it appears soon after sold his share in the purchase to Capt. John Baker of New York, and John Ogden of Northampton, and it is believed went to England, some three or four years after. In the month of March, 1665, he, together with Thomas Benedict, represented Jamaica in the General Assembly of Deputies held at Hempstead, in pursuance of the requisition of Governor Nicolls, and by which assembly was formed the first code of laws for the English Colony of New York, known as the "Duke's Laws." At the same Assembly the Deputies adopted an Address to his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York; in which among other things it is stated,—"We do publickly and unanimously declare our cheerful submission to all such laws, statutes, and ordinances, which are or shall be made by virtue of authority from your royal highness, your heirs and successors forever."

The people of Long Island considered the language of this address too servile for freemen; and were exasperated against the makers of it to such a degree, that the Court of Assizes, in order to save the deputies from abuse, if not from personal violence, thought it expedient, at their meeting in October 1666, to declare, that, "whosoever hereafter shall any wayes detract or speake against any of the deputies signing the address to his Royal highness, at the general meeting at Hempstead, they shall bee presented to the next Court of Sessions, and if the justices shall see cause, they shall from thence bee bound over to the Assizes, there to answer for the slander upon plaint or information."

The deputies subsequently to the address made to the

Duke of York, made one to the people, bearing date the 21st June, 1667; in which they set forth their reasons for agreeing to the code styled the "Duke's Laws," and also in explanation of their address to his Royal Highness—in which they state. "Some malicious men have aspersed us as betrayers to their liberties and privileges, in subscribing to an address to his Royal Highness, full of duty and gratitude, whereby his Royal Highness may be encouraged the more to take us and the welfare of our posterity into his most princely care and consideration."

"Neither can any clause in that address bear any other natural sense and construction than our obedience and submission to his Majesty's letters patent, according to our duty and allegiance."

"However, that our neighbours and fellow subjects may be undeceived of the false aspersions thrown upon upon us and the impostures of men disaffected to government manifested, lest they should further prevail upon the weakness of others; we the then deputies and subscribers of the said address, conceive ourselves obliged to publish this narrative and remonstrance of the several passages and steps conducting to the present government under which we now live, and we desire that a record hereof may be kept in each town, that future ages may not be seasoned with the sour malice of such unreasonable and groundless aspersions."—(Furman's Notes on Brooklyn, page 107. Wood's Long Island, 1828, page 175.)

This volume forms the first of a series of rare and valuable works on American history, which the publisher designs giving to the public from time to time, as convenience may dictate. The selection will be made, as in this instance, from those very rare early publications which cannot be obtained either in this country or in Europe, except by very few, and at great cost. In doing this he feels that he has a claim upon all the lovers of the history of their country for assistance in his undertaking.

A

Brief Description

OF

NEW YORK:

Formerly Called

New Netherlands.

With the Places thereunto Adjoyning.

Together with the

Manner of its Scituation, Fertility of the Soyle, Healthfulness of the Climate, and the Commodities thence produced.

ALSO

Some Directions and Advice to such as shall go thither: An Account of what Commodities they shall take with them; The Profit and Pleasure that may accrue to them thereby.

LIKEWISE

A Brief RELATION of the Customs of the *Indians* there.

BY DANIEL DENTON.

LONDON.

Printed for *John Hancock*, at the first Shop in *Popes-Head-Alley* in *Cornhil*, at the three Bibles, and *William Bradley* at the three Bibles.

In the Minories. 1670

TO THE READER.

READER,—I Have here thorough the Instigation of divers Persons in England, and elsewhere, presented you with a Brief but true Relation of a known unknown part of America. The known part which is either inhabited, or lieth near the Sea, I have described to you, and have writ nothing, but what I have been an eye witness to all or the greatest part of it: Neither can I safely say, was I willing to exceed, but was rather willing the place it self should exceed my Commendation, which I question not but will be owned by those that shall travel thither: For the unknown part, which is either some places lying to the Northward yet undiscovered by any English, or the Bowels of the earth not yet opened, though the Natives tell us of Glittering Stones, Diamonds, or Pearl in the one, and the Dutch hath boasted of Gold and Silver in the other; yet I shall not feed your expectation with any thing of that nature; but leave it till a better discovery shall make way for such a Relation. In the mean time accept of this from him who desireth to deal impartially with every one.

DANIEL DENTON.

A

BRIEF RELATION

OF

NEW YORK,

WITH THE PLACES THEREUNTO ADJOYNING,

FORMERLY CALLED

THE NEW NETHERLANDS, &c.

THAT Tract of Land formerly called *The New Netherlands*, doth Contain all that Land which lieth in the North parts of America, betwixt New-England and Mary-land in Virginia, the length of which Northward into the Countrey, as it hath not been fully discovered, so it is not certainly known. The bredth of it is about two hundred miles: The principal Rivers, within this Tract, are Hudsons River, Raritan River, and Delewerbay River. The chief Islands are the Manahatans-Island, Long Island and Staten Island.

And first to begin with the Manahatans Islands, (see Note 1,) so called by the Indians, it lieth within land betwixt the degrees of 41. and 42. of North latitude, and is about 14 miles long, and two broad. It is bounded with Long Island on the South, with Staten Island on the West, on the North with the Main Land: And with Conecticut Colony on the East-side of it; only a part of the Main Land belonging to New York Colony, where several Towns and Villages are setled, being about thirty miles in bredth, doth intercept the

Manahatans Island, and the Colony of Conecticut before mentioned.

New York is setled upon the West end of the aforesaid Island, having that small arm of the Sea, which divides it from Long Island on the South side of it, which runs away Eastward to New England and is Navigable, though dangerous. For about ten miles from New York is a place called Hell-Gate, (see Note 2,) which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some Islands of Rocks, which the Current sets so violently upon, that it threatens present shipwreck; and upon the flood is a large Whirlpool, which continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any stranger from passing any further, and to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those that are well acquainted little or no danger; yet a place of great defence against any enemy coming in that way, which a small Fortification would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the West end of Long Island by Sandy Hook where Nutten (see Note 3,) Island doth force them within Command of the Fort at New York, which is one of the best Pieces of Defence in the North parts of America.

New York is built most of Brick and Stone, and covered with red and black Tile, and the Land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing Aspect to the spectators. (see Note 4.) The Inhabitants consist most of English and Dutch, and have a considerable Trade with the Indians, for Bevers, Otter, Raccoon

skins, with other Furrs ; As also for Bear, Deer, and Elke skins ; and are supplied with Venison and Fowl in the Winter, and Fish in the Summer by the Indians, which they buy at an easie rate ; And having the Countrey round about them, they are continually furnished with all such provisions as is needful for the life of man : not only by the English and Dutch within their own, but likewise by the Adjacent Colonies.

The Commodities vented from thence is Furs and Skins before-mentioned ; As likewise Tobacco made within the Colony, as good as is usually made in Mary-land : Also Horses, Beef, Pork, Oyl, Pease, Wheat, and the like.

Long-Island, (see Note 5,) the West end of which lies Southward of New York, runs Eastward above one hundred miles, and is in some places eight, in some twelve, in some fourteen miles broad : it is inhabited from one end to the other. On the West end is four or five Dutch Towns, the rest being all English to the number of twelve, besides Villages and Farm houses. The Island is most of it of a very good soyle, and very natural for all sorts of English Grain ; which they sowe and have very good increase of, besides all other Fruits and Herbs common in England, as also Tobacco, Hemp, Flax, Pumpkins, Melons, &c.

The Fruits natural to the Island are Mulberries, Posimons, Grapes great and small, Huckelberries, Cramberries, Plums of several sorts, Rosberries and Strawberries, of which last is such abundance in June,

that the Fields and Woods are died red: Which the Countrey-people perceiving, instantly arm themselves with bottles of Wine, Cream, and Sugar and in stead of a Coat of Male, every one takes a Female upon his Horse behind him, and so rushing violently into the fields, never leave till they have disrob'd them of their red colours, and turned them into the old habit.

The greatest part of the Island is very full of Timber, as Oaks white and red, Walnut-trees, Chesnut-trees, which yield store of Mast for Swine, and are often therewith sufficiently fatted with Oat-Corn as also Maples, Cedars, Saxifrage, Beach, Birch, Holly, Hazel, with many sorts more.

The Herbs which the Countrey naturally afford, are Purslain, white Orage, Egrimony, Violets, Penniroyal, Alicampane, besides Saxaparilla very common, with many more. Yea, in May you shall see the Woods and Fields so curiously bedecke with Roses, and an innumerable multitude of delightful Flowers not only pleasing the eye, but smell, that you may behold Nature contending with Art, and striving to equal, if not excel many Gardens in England: nay, did we know the vertue of all those Plants and Herbs growing there (which time may more discover) many are of opinion, and the Natives do affirm, that there is no disease common to the Countrey, but may be cured without Materials from other Nations.

There is several Navigable Rivers and Bays, which puts into the North-side of Long-Island, but upon the South-side which joyns to the Sea, it is so fortified with bars of sands, and sholes, that it is a sufficient

defence against any enemy, yet the South-side is not without Brooks and Riverets, which empty themselves into the Sea; yea, you shall scarce travel a mile, but you shall meet with one of them whose Christal streams run so swift, that they purge themselves of such stinking mud and filth, which the standing or low paced streams of most brooks and rivers westward of this Colony leave lying, and are by the Suns exhalation dissipated, the Air corrupted and many Fevers and other distempers occasioned, not incident to this Colony: Neither do the Brooks and Riverets premised, give way to the Frost in Winter, or drought in Summer, but keep their course throughout the year. (See Note 6.)

These Rivers are very well furnished with Fish, as Bosse, Sheepsheads, Place, Perch, Trouts, Eels, Turtles and divers others.

The Island is plentifully stored with all sorts of English Cattel, Horses, Hogs, Sheep, Goats, &c. no place in the North of America better, which they can both raise and maintain, by reason of the large and spacious Medows or Marches wherewith it is furnished, the Island likewise producing excellent English grass, the seed of which was brought out of England, which they sometimes mow twice a year.

For wilde Beasts there is Deer, Bear, Wolves, Foxes, Racoons, Otters, Musquashes and Skunks. Wild Fowl there is great store of, as Turkies, Heath-Hens, Quails, Partridges, Pidgeons, Cranes, Geese of several sorts, Brants, Ducks, Widgeon, Teal, and divers others: There is also the red Bird, with divers

sorts of singing birds, whose chirping notes salute the ears of Travellers with an harmonious discord, and in every pond and brook green silken Frogs, who warbling forth their untun'd tunes strive to bear a part in this musick.

Towards the middle of Long-Island lyeth a plain sixteen miles long and four broad, upon which plain grows very fine grass, that makes exceeding good Hay, and is very good pasture for sheep or other Cattel; where you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder the Horse heels, or endanger them in their Races, and once a year the best Horses in the Island are brought hither to try their swiftness, and the swiftest rewarded with a silver Cup, two being Annually procured for that purpose. There are two or three other small plains of about a mile square, which are no small benefit to those Towns which enjoy them. (See Note 7.)

Upon the South-side of Long-Island in the Winter, lie store of Whales and Crampasses, which the inhabitants begin with small boats to make a trade Catching to their no small benefit. Also an innumerable multitude of Seals, which make an excellent oyle: they lie all the Winter upon some broken Marshes and Beaches, or bars of sand before-mentioned, and might be easily got were there some skilful men would undertake it.

To say something of the Indians, there is now but few upon the Island, and those few no ways hurtful but rather serviceable to the English, and it is to be admired, how strangely they have decreast by the

Hand of God, since the English first setling of those parts ; for since my time, where there were six towns, they are reduced to two small Villages, and it hath been generally observed, that where the English come to settle, a Divine Hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the Indians either by Wars one with the other, or by some raging mortal Disease. (See Note 8.)

They live principally by Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing : their Wives being the Husbandmen to till the Land, and plant their corn.

The meat they live most upon is Fish, Fowl, and Venison ; they eat likewise Polecats, Skunks, Racoon, Possum, Turtles, and the like.

They build small moveable Tents, which they remove two or three times a year, having their principal quarters where they plant their Corn ; their Hunting quarters, and their Fishing quarters : Their Recreations are chiefly Foot-ball and Cards, at which they will play away all they have, excepting a Flap to cover their nakedness : They are great lovers of strong drink, yet do not care for drinking, unless they have enough to make themselves drunk ; and if there be so many in their Company, that there is not sufficient to make them all drunk, they usually select so many out of their Company, proportionable to the quantity of drink, and the rest must be spectators. And if any one chance to be drunk before he hath finisht his proportion, (which is ordinarily a quart of Brandy, Rum, or Strong-waters) the rest will pour the rest of his part down his throat.

They often kill one another at these drunken Matches, which the friends of the murdered person, do revenge upon the Murderer unless he purchase his life with money, which they sometimes do: Their money is made of a Periwinkle shell of which there is black and white, made much like unto beads, and put upon strings. (See Note 9.)

For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of War or the like; their usual time is about Michaelmass, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw; most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, there God will accept of no other offering, which the people beleeving, every one gives money according to their ability. The priest takes the money, and putting it into some dishes, sets them upon the top of their low flat-roofed houses, and falls to invocating their God to come and receive it, which with a many loud hallows and outcries, knocking the ground with sticks, and beating themselves, is performed by the priest, and seconded by the people.

After they have thus a while wearied themselves, the priest by his Conjuration brings in a devil amongst them, in the shape sometimes of a fowl, sometimes of a beast, and sometimes of a man, at which the people being amazed, not daring to stir, he improves the opportunity, steps out and makes sure of the money, and then returns to lay the spirit, who in the mean

time is sometimes gone, and takes some of the Company along with him; but if any English at such times do come amongst them, it puts a period to their proceedings, and they will desire their absence, telling them their God will not come whilst they are there.

In their wars they fight no picht fields, but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavor to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, and then with their guns and hatchets they way-lay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another, and it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.

When any Indian dies amongst them, they bury him upright, sitting upon a seat, with his Gun, money, and such goods as he hath with him, that he may be furnished in the other world, which they conceive is Westward, where they shall have great store of Game for Hunting and live easie lives. (See Note 10) At his Burial his nearest Relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long, till time hath worn the blackness off their faces, and afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it: they fence their graves with a hedge, and cover the tops with Mats, to shelter them from the rain.

Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his Name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his

friends and relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name, and takes a new one, their names are not proper set names as amongst Christians, but every one invents a name to himself; which he likes best. Some calling themselves Rattlesnake, Skunk, Bucks-horn, or the like: And if a person die, that his name is some word which is used in speech, they likewise change that word, and invent some new one, which makes a great change and alteration in their language.

When any person is sick, after some means used by his friends, every one pretending skill in Physick; that proving ineffectual, they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person, without the least enquiry after the distemper, waits for a gift, which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one, sometimes on another, raising his voice higher and higher, beating of his naked breasts and sides, till the sweat runneth down, and his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together, and so takes his leave.

Their Marriages are performed without any Ceremony, the Match being first made by money. The sum being agreed upon and given to the woman, it makes a consummation of their Marriage, if I may so call it: After that, he keeps her during his plea-

sure, and upon the least dislike turns her away and takes another: It is no offence for their married women to lie with another man, provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not, it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death: An Indian may have two wives or more if he please; (see Note 11,) but it is not so much in use as it was since the English came amongst them; they being ready in some measure to imitate the English in things both good and bad; any Maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money, without any scandal or the least aspersion to be cast upon her, it being so customary, and their laws tolerating of it. They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends, and whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another, leaving themselves commonly the least share.

At their Cantica's or dancing Matches, where all persons that come are freely entertain'd, it being a Festival time: Their custom is when they dance, every one but the Dancers to have a short stick in their hand, and to knock the ground and sing altogether, whilst they that dance sometimes act warlike postures, and then they come in painted for War with their faces black and red, or some all black, some all red, with some streaks of white under their eyes, and so jump and leap up and down without any order, uttering many expressions of their intended valour. For other Dances they only shew what Antick

tricks their ignorance will lead them to, wringing of their bodies and faces after a strange manner, sometimes jumping into the fire, sometimes catching up a Fire-brand, and biting off a live coal, with many such tricks, that will affright, if not please an Englishman to look upon them, resembling rather a company of infernal Furies then men. When their King or Sachem sits in Council, he hath a Company of armed men to guard his Person, great respect being shewn to him by the People, which is principally manifested by their silence; After he hath declared the cause of their convention, he demands their opinion, ordering who shall begin: The person ordered to speak, after he hath declared his minde, tells them he hath done; no man ever interrupting any person in his speech, nor offering to speak, though he make never so many or long stops, till he says he hath no more to say: the Council having all declar'd their opinions, the King after some pause gives the definitive sentence, which is commonly seconded with a shout from the people, every one seeming to applaud, and manifest their Assent to what is determined: If any person be condemned to die, which is seldom, unless for Murder or Incest, the King himself goes out in person (for you must understand they have no prisons, and the guilty person flies into the Woods) where they go in quest of him, and having found him, the King shoots first, though at never such a distance, and then happy is the man can shoot him down, and cut off his *Long*, (see Note 12,) which they com-

monly wear, who for his pains is made some Captain, or other military Officer.

Their Cloathing is a yard and an half of broad Cloth, which is made for the Indian Trade, which they hang upon their shoulders; and half a yard of the same cloth, which being put betwixt their legs, and brought up before and behinde, and tied with a Girdle about their middle, hangs with a flap on each side: They wear no Hats, but commonly wear about their Heads a Snake's skin, or a Belt of their money, or a kind of a Ruff made with Deers hair, and died of a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich.

They grease their bodies and hair very often, and paint their faces with several colours, as black, white, red, yellow, blew, &c. which they take great pride in, every one being painted in a several manner: Thus much for the Customs of the Indians.

Within two Leagues of New York lieth Staten-Island, it bears from New York West something Southerly: It is about twenty-miles long, and four or five broad, it is most of it very good Land, full of Timber, and produceth all such commodities as Long Island doth besides Tin and store of Iron Oar, and the Calamine stone is said likewise to be found there: There is but one Town upon it consisting of English and French, but is capable of entertaining more inhabitants; betwixt this and Long Island is a large Bay, and is the coming in for all ships and vessels out of the Sea: On the North-side of this Island After-skull River puts into the main Land on the West-side, whereof is two or three Towns, but on the

East-side but one. There is very great Marshes or Medows on both sides of it, excellent good Land, and good convenience for the setling of several Towns; there grows black Walnut and Locust, as their doth in Virginia, with mighty tall streight Timber, as good as any in the North of America: It produceth any Commoditie Long-Island doth.

Hudsons River runs by New York Northward into the Countrey, toward the Head of which is seated New Albany, a place of great Trade with the Indians, betwixt which and New-York, being above one hundred miles, (see Note 13,) is as good Corn-land as the World affords, enough to entertain Hundreds of Families, which in the time of the Dutch-Government of those parts could not be setled: For the Indians, excepting one place, called the Sopers, which was kept by a Garrison, but since the reducement of those parts under His Majesties obedience and a Patent granted to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, which is about six years; since by the care and diligence of the Honorable Coll Nicholls sent thither Deputy to His Highness, such a League of Peace was made, and Friendship concluded betwixt that Colony and the Indians, that they have not resisted or disturbed any Christians there, in the setling or peaceable possessing of any Lands with that Government, but every man hath sate under his own Vine, and hath peaceably reapt and enjoyed the fruits of their own labours, which God continue.

Westward of After-Kull River before-mentioned, about 18 or 20 miles runs in Raritan-River North-

ward into the Countrey, some score of miles, both sides of which River is adorn'd with spacious Medows, enough to maintain thousands of Cattel, the Wood-land is likewise very good for corn, and stor'd with wilde Beasts, as Deer, and Elks, and an innumerable multitude of Fowl, as in other parts of the Countrey: This River is thought very capable for the erecting of several Towns and Villages on each side of it, no place in the North of America having better convenience for the maintaining of all sorts of Cattel for Winter and Summer food: upon this River is no town setled, but one at the mouth of it. Next this River Westward is a place called Newasons, where is two or three Towns and Villages setled upon the Sea-side, but none betwixt that and Delewer Bay, which is about sixty miles, all which is a rich Champain Countrey, free from stones, and indifferent level; store of excellent good timber, and very well watered, having brooks or rivers ordinarily, one or more in every miles travel: The Countrey is full of Deer, Elks, Bear, and other Creatures, as in other parts of the Countrey, where you shall meet with no inhabitant in this journey, but a few Indians, where there is stately Oaks, whose broad-branched-tops serve for no other use, but to keep off the Suns heat from the wilde beasts of the Wilderness, where is grass as high as a mans middle, that serves for no other end except to maintain the Elks and Deer, who never devour a hundredth part of it, then to be burnt every Spring to make way for new. How many poor people in the world would think themselves happy had

they an Acre or two of Land, whilst here is hundreds, nay thousands of Acres, that would invite inhabitants.

Delewer bay the mouth of the River, lyeth about the mid-way betwixt New York, and the Capes of Virginia: It is a very pleasant River and Countrey, but very few inhabitants, and them being mostly Swedes, Dutch and Finns: about sixty miles up the River is the principal Town called New Castle, which is about 40 miles from Mary-land, and very good way to travel, either with horse or foot, the people are setled all along the west side sixty miles above New Castle; the land is good for all sorts of English grain and wanteth nothing but a good people to populate it, it being capable of entertaining many hundred families.

Some may admire, that these great and rich Tracts of land, lying so adjoyning to New England and Virginia, should be no better inhabited, and that the richness of the soyle, the healthfulness of the Climate, and the like, should be no better a motive to induce people from both places to populate it.

To which I answer, that whilst it was under the Dutch Government, which hath been till within these six years; there was little encouragement for any English, both in respect to their safety from the Indians, the Dutch being almost always in danger of them; and their Bever-trade not admitting of a War, which would have been destructive to their trade, which was the main thing prosecuted by the Dutch. And secondly, the Dutch gave such bad Titles to Lands, together with their exacting of the Tenths of

all which men produced off their Land, that did much hinder the populating of it; together with that general dislike the English have of living under another Government; but since the reducement of it there is several Towns of a considerable greatness begun and setled by people out of New England, and every day more and more come to view and settle.

To give some satisfaction to people that shall be desirous to transport themselves thither, (the Countrey being capable of entertaining many thousands,) how and after what manner people live, and how Land may be procured, &c. I shall answer, that the usual way, is for a Company of people to joyn together, either enough to make a Town, or a lesser number; these go with the consent of the Governor, and view a Tract of Land, there being choice enough, and finding a place convenient for a Town, they return to the Governor, who upon their desire admits them into the Colony, and gives them a Grant or Patent for the said Land, for themselves and Associates. These persons being thus qualified, settle the place, and take in what inhabitants to themselves they shall see cause to admit of, till their Town be full; these Associates thus taken in have equal privileges with themselves, and they make a division of the Land suitable to every mans occasions, no man being debarr'd of such quantities as he hath occasion for, the rest they let lie in common till they have occasion for a new division, never dividing their Pasture-land at all, which lies in common to the whole Town. The best Commodities for any to carry with

them is Clothing, the Countrey being full of all sorts of Cattel, which they may furnish themselves withal at an easie rate, for any sorts of English Goods, as likewise Instruments for Husbandry and Building, with Nails, Hinges, Glass, and the like; For the manner how they get a livelihood, it is principally by Corn and Cattel, which will there fetch them any Commodities; likewise they sowe store of Flax, which they make every one Cloth of for their own wearing, as also woollen Cloth, and Linsey-woolsey, and had they more Tradesmen amongst them, they would in a little time live without the help of any other Countrey for their Clothing: For Tradesmen there is none but live happily there, as Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Masons, Tailors, Weavers, Shoemakers, Tanners, Brickmakers, and so any other Trade; them that have no Trade betake themselves to Husbandry, get Land of their own, and live exceeding well.

Thus have I briefly given you a Relation of New-York, with the places thereunto adjoyning; In which, if I have err'd, it is principally in not giving it its due commendation; for besides those earthly blessings where it is stor'd, Heaven hath not been wanting to open his Treasure, in sending down seasonable showers upon the Earth, blessing it with a sweet and pleasant Air, and a Continuation of such Influences as tend to the Health both of Man and Beast: and the Climate hath such an affinity with that of England, that it breeds ordinarily no alteration to those which remove thither; that the name of seasoning, which is common

to some other Countreys hath never there been known; That I may say, and say truly, that if there be any terrestrial happiness to be had by people of all ranks, especially of an inferior rank, it must certainly be here: here any one may furnish himself with land, and live rent-free, yea, with such a quantity of Land, that he may weary himself with walking over his fields of Corn, and all sorts of Grain: and let his stock of Cattel amount to some hundreds, he needs not fear their want of pasture in the Summer or Fodder in the Winter, the Woods affording sufficient supply. For the Summer-season, where you have grass as high as a mans knees, nay, as high as his waste, interlaced with Pea-vines and other weeds that Cattel much delight in, as much as a man can press through; and these woods also every mile or half-mile are furnished with fresh ponds, brooks or rivers, where all sorts of Cattel, during the heat of the day, do quench their thirst and cool themselves; these brooks and rivers being invironed of each side with several sorts of trees and Grape-vines, the Vines, Arbor-like, interchanging places and crossing these rivers, does shade and shelter them from the scorching beams of Sols fiery influence; Here those which Fortune hath frown'd upon in England, to deny them an inheritance amongst their Brethren, or such as by their utmost labors can scarcely procure a living, I say such may procure here inheritances of lands and possessions, stock themselves with all sorts of Cattel, enjoy the benefit of them whilst they live, and leave them to the benefit of their children when they die:

Here you need not trouble the Shambles for meat, nor Bakers and Brewers for Beer and Bread, nor run to a Linnen Draper for a supply, every one making their own Linnen, and a great part of their woollen cloth for their ordinary wearing: And how prodigal, If I may so say, hath Nature been to furnish the Countrey with all sorts of wilde Beasts and Fowle, which every one hath an interest in, and may hunt at his pleasure: where besides the pleasure in hunting, he may furnish his house with excellent fat Venison, Turkeys, Geese, Heath-Hens, Cranes, Swans, Ducks, Pidgeons, and the like; and wearied with that, he may go a Fishing, where the Rivers are so furnished, that he may supply himself with Fish before he can leave off the Recreation: (see Note 14,) Where you may travel by Land upon the same Continent hundreds of miles, and passe through Towns and Villages, and never hear the least complaint for want, nor hear any ask you for a farthing; there you may lodge in the fields and woods, travel from one end of the Countrey to another, with as much security as if you were lockt within your own Chamber; And if you chance to meet with an Indian-Town, they shall give you the best entertainment they have, and upon your desire, direct you on your way: But that which adds happiness to all the rest, is the Healthfulness of the place, where many people in twenty years time never know what sickness is; where they look upon it as a great mortality if two or three die out of a town in a years time; where besides the sweetness of the Air, the Countrey itself sends forth such a fragrant smell, that it may be

perceived at Sea before they can make the Land; (see Note 15,) where no evil fog or vapour doth no sooner appear but a North-west or Westerly winde doth immediately dissolve it, and drive it away: What shall I say more? you shall scarce see a house, but the South side is begirt with Hives of Bees, which increase after an incredible manner: That I must needs say, that if there be any terrestrial Canaan, 'tis surely here, where the Land floweth with milk and honey. The inhabitants are blest with Peace and plenty, blessed in their Countrey, blessed in their Fields, blessed in the Fruit of their bodies, in the fruit of their grounds, in the increase of their Cattel, Horses and Sheep, blessed in their Basket, and in their Store; In a word, blessed in whatsoever they take in hand, or go about, the Earth yielding plentiful increase to all their painful labours.

Were it not to avoid prolixity I could say a great deal more, and yet say too little, how free are those parts of the world from that pride and oppression, with their miserable effects, which many, nay almost all parts of the world are troubled, with being ignorant of that pomp and bravery which aspiring Humours are servants to, and striving after almost every where: where a Waggon or Cart gives as good content as a Coach; and a piece of their home-made Cloth, better than the finest Lawns or richest Silks: and though their low roofed houses may seem to shut their doors against pride and luxury, yet how do they stand wide open to let charity in and out, either to assist each other, or relieve a stranger, (see

Note 16,) and the distance of place from other Nations, doth secure them from the envious frowns of ill-affected Neighbours, and the troubles which usually arise thence.

Now to conclude, its possible some may say, what needs a Relation of a place of so long standing as New York hath been? (See Note 17.) In answer to which I have said something before, as to satisfie the desires of many that never had any relation of it. Secondly, though it hath been long settled, yet but lately reduced to his Majestie's obedience, and by that means but new or unknown to the English; else certainly those great number of Furs, that have been lately transported from thence into Holland had never past the hands of our English Furriers: Thirdly, never any Relation before was published to my knowledge, and the place being capable of entertaining so great a number of inhabitants, where they may with God's blessing, and their own industry, live as happily as any people in the world. A true Relation was necessary, not only for the encouragement of many that have a desire to remove themselves, but for the satisfaction of others that would make a trade thither.

FINIS.

This book to be sold by John Hancock, *at the first shop in* Pope's Head Alley, *at the sign of the three Bibles in* Cornhil, 1670.

NOTES.

INDIAN NAMES OF THE ISLANDS AND BAY OF NEW YORK.

(*Note* 1, *page* 1.)

THE first name, which occurs, is that of the Hudson river. It does not appear that the discoverer thought of giving it his own name. In the narrative of his voyage, it is called the Great River of the Mountains, or simply the Great river. This term was simply translated by his employers, the servants of the Dutch West India Company, who, on the early maps of Nova Belgica, called it *Groote Riviere.* It was afterwards called Nassau, after the reigning House, but this name was not persevered in. After a subsequent time, they gave it the name of Mauritius, after Prince Maurice, but this name, if it was ever much in vogue, either did not prevail against, or was early exchanged for the popular term of NORTH RIVER—a name which it emphatically bore to distinguish it from the Lenapihittuck or Delaware, which they called *South* river. [Zuydt Riviere.] That the name of Mauritius was but partially introduced, is indicated by the reply made by the New England authorities to a letter respecting boundaries of Gov. Kieft, in 1646, in which they declare, in answer to his complaint of encroachments on its settlements, their entire ignorance of any river bearing this name.

Neither of the Indian names by which it was called, appear to have found much favor. The Mohegans called it Shatèmuc. Shaita, in the cognate dialect of the Odjibwa, means a pelican. It cannot be affirmed, to denote the same object in this dialect, nor is it known that the pelican has ever been seen on this river. Uc is the ordinary inflection for locality. The Mincees, occupying the west banks, called it Mohegan-ittuck. The syllable itt, before uck, is one of the most transitive forms, by which the action of the nominative is engrafted upon the objective, without communicating any new meaning. The signification of the term is Mohegan river. The Iroquois, (as given by the interpreter John Bleecker, and communicated by the late Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill in a letter to Dr. Miller in 1811,) called Ca ho ha ta tè a,*—that is to say, if we have apprehended the word, the great river having mountains beyond the Cahoh or Cahoes Falls.

* Vide Dr. Miller's Historical Discourse.

The three prominent Indian names of the Hudson are therefore the MOHEGAN, *the* CHATEMUC, *and the* CAHOTATEA.

The river appears to have been also called, by other tribes of the Iroquois confederacy, Sanataty. The word ataty, here, is the same written atatea, above, and is descriptive of various scenes according to its prefix. The English first named the river, the Hudson, after the surrender of the colony in 1664. It does not appear, under this name, in any Dutch work or record, which has been examined. It may be observed, that the term has not exclusively prevailed to the present day, among New Yorkers in the river counties, where the name of North River is still popular. It will be recollected, as a proof of the prevailing custom, that Fulton called his first boat, to test the triumph of steam, "The North River."

If the river failed to bear to future times, either of its original names, the island, as the nominative of the city, was equally unfortunate, the more so it is conceived, as the name of the city became the name of the state. Regret has been expressed, that some one of the sonorous and appropriate Indian names of the west, had not been chosen to designate the state. The colonists were but little regardful of questions of this kind. Both the Dutch in 1609 and the English in 1665, came with precisely the same force of national prepossession—the first in favor of Amsterdam, and the second in favor of New York both connected with the belittling adjective "New." It is characteristic of the English, that they have sought to perpetuate the remembrance of their victories, conquests and discoveries, by these geographical names. And the word New York, if it redound less to their military or naval glory, than Blenheim, Trafalgar and Waterloo may be cited to show, that this was an early developed trait of character of the English, abroad as well as at home. It would be well, indeed, if their descendants in America had been a little more alive to the influence of this trait. Those who love the land, and cherish its nationalities, would at least have been spared, in witnessing the growth and development of this great city, the continued repetition of foreign, petty or vulgar names, for our streets and squares and public resorts, while such names as Saratoga and Ticonderoga, Niagara and Ontario, Iosco and Owasco, are never thought of.*

The Indians called the Island MON-A-TON dropping the local inflection uk. The word is variously written by early writers. The sound as pronounced to me in 1827 by Metoxon, a Mohegan chief, is Mon ah tan uk, a phrase which is descriptive of the whirlpool of Hellgate. *Mon* or man, as here written, is the radix of the adjective bad, carrying as it does, in its multiplied forms, the various meanings of violent, dangerous, &c., when applied in compounds. *Ah tun,* is a generic term for a channel, or stream of running water. *Uk,* denotes locality, and also plurality. When the tribe has thus denoted this passage, which is confessedly the most striking and characteristic geographical feature of

* Vide Letter to Hon. J. Harper.

the region, they called the island near it, to imply the Anglicised term, *Man-hat-tan*, and themselves *Mon-a-tuns*, that is to say, " People of the Whirlpool." It is well known that the Indian tribes, have, generally, taken their distinctive names from geographical features. The Narragansetts, as we are told by Roger Williams, took that name, from a small island off the coast.* Massachusetts, according to the same authority, signifies the Blue Hills, and is derived from the appearance of lands at sea. Mississaga, signifies they live at the mouth of a large river, and by an inflection, the people who live at the mouth of the large river or waters. Onondaga, means the people who live on the hill. Oneida, the people who sprang from a rock, &c. These names afford no clue to nationality, they preserve no ethnological chain.

The tradition that this island derives its name from the accidental circumstance of the intoxication of the Indians on Hudson's first visit, in 1609, is a sheer inference, unsupported by philology. That the tradition of such an event was preserved and related to the early missionaries by the Mohegan Indians, admits of no doubt, nor is there more, that the island was referred to as the place where their ancestors first obtained the taste of ardent spirits. That the island had no name prior to 1609, or if well known by a characteristic name, that this elder name was then dropped and a new name bestowed, in allusion to this circumstance of the intoxication, is not only improbable, on known principles, but is wholly unsustained, as will have been perceived by the above etymology. The word for intoxication, or dizziness from drink, in the Algonquin, and with little change in all the cognate dialects, is *Ke wush kwä bee.* The verb to drink in the same dialects, is *Min e kwä*, in the Mohegan " Minahn" words having none of the necessary elements of this compound. Very great care is, indeed, required in recording Indian words, to be certain that the word given, is actually expressive of the object of inquiry. Some curious and amusing examples of mistakes of this kind might be given, did it comport with the limits of this note.

There were several Indian villages, or places of resort, on the island of Monà-tun, for which the original names have survived. The extreme point of land, between the junction of the East and North rivers, of which the Battery is now a part, was called Kapsee and within the memory of persons still living was known as " the Copsie point" a term which appears to denote a safe place of landing, formed by eddy waters. There was a village called Sapokanican, on the shores of the Hudson, at the present site of Greenwich. Corlaer's Hook was called Naghtognk.† The particle tonk, here, denotes sand. A tract of meadow land on the north end of the island, near Kingsbridge, was called Muscoota, that is, meadow or grass land. Warpoes was a term bestowed on a piece of elevated ground, situated above and beyond the small lake or pond called the Kolck. This term is, apparently a derivative from Wawbose, a hare.

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* Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. 3.
† Nechtank, (Dutch notation.)

The Islands around the city had their appropriate names. Long Island was called Metòac, after the name of the Metòacks, the principal tribe located on it. It is thus called by Van Der Donck in 1656, and in all the subsequent maps of authority, down to Evans', in 1775. Smith calls it Meitowacks. In Governor Clinton's discourse, it is printed Meilowacks, but this is evidently a typographical error.

Staten Island, we are informed by De Vries, was occupied by the Mon-á-tans who called it MONOCKNONG with a verbal prefix. The termination is *ong*, denotes locality. Manon is the ironwood tree, ack denotes a tree, or trunk, and admits a prefix from " manadun," bad. By inquiry it does not appear that the Ironwood, although present, ever existed in sufficient abundance to render the name from that characteristic.* The other, it is too late to investigate. It is believed the expression had an implied meaning, and denoted the Haunted Woods.

Thus far the colonial maps and records, so far as they have fallen under the author's notice. The vocabulary of the Mohegans affords, however, a few other terms, the application of which may be well assumed from their etymology. Of this kind is the term NAOSH, for Sandy Hook, meaning a point surpassing others. MINNISAIS, or the lesser island, for Bedlow's island; and Kioshk, or Gull island, for Ellis's island. The heights of Brooklyn are graphically described in the term *Ihpetonga;* that is, high sandy banks.

The geological structure of the island was such as to bring it to a much narrower point, than it now occupies. By the recent excavations for the foundations of Trinity Church, and the commercial buildings on the site of the Old Presbyrian Church in Wall-street, the principal stratum is seen to be of coarse grey sea sand, capped with a similar soil, mixed with vegetable mould and feruginous oxide. From the make of the land, the Indian path, on the Trinity plateau, forked at the foot of the Park, and proceeded east of the small lake called the Kolck [Agieǫon] to the rise of ground at Chatham square. Here, or not far from it, was the eminence called WARPOES, probably the site of a village, and so named from its chief. The stream and marsh existing where Canal street now runs, gave this eastern tendency to the main path. At or beyond Warpoes, another fork in the path became necessary to reach the Banks of the Hudson at the Indian village of LAPINIKAN, now Greenwich. In this route laid the eminence ISHPATENA, late Richmond Hill, at the corner of Charlton and Varick streets. The path leading from the interjunction at Warpoes, or Chatham square, to Nahtonk, or Corlaer's Hook, had no intermediate village, of which the name has survived. This portion of the island was covered with a fine forest of nut wood, oaks, and other hard-wood species, interspersed with grassy glades, about the sites of the Indian villages. The upper part of the Island was densely wooded. Above Fortieth street it was unfavorable for any purpose but hunting, and much of the middle part of it, as between Fifth and Eighth Avenues, was

* M. S. letter from R. M. Tyson, Esq.

either shoe-deep under water or naturally swampy. This arose, as is seen at this day, from a clayey stratum, which retains the moisture, whereas the whole island below this location, particularly below the brow of the sycnitic formation of Thirty-seventh street, &c., consisted of gravel and sand, which absorbed the moisture and rendered it the most favorable site for building and occupation. On the margin of the Hudson, the water reached, tradition tells us, to Greenwich street. There is a yellow painted wooden house still standing at the northeast corner of Courtlandt and Greenwich streets, which had the water near to it. Similar tradition assures us that Broad street was the site of a marsh and small creek. The same may be said of the foot of Maiden lane, once Fly Market, and of the outlet of the Muskeeg or swamp, now Ferry street. Pearl street marked the winding margin of the East river. Foundations dug here reach the ancient banks of oyster shells. Ashibic denotes the probable narrow ridge or ancient cliff north of Beekman street, which bounded the marsh below. Ocitoc is a term for the height of land in Broadway, at Niblo's; Abic, a rock rising up in the Battery; Penabic, Mt. Washington, or the Comb mountain. These notices, drawn from philology, and, in part, the earlier geographical accounts of New Belgium, might be extended to a few other points, which are clearly denoted; but are deemed sufficient to sustain the conclusions, which we have arrived at, that the main configuration of the leading thoroughfares of the city, from the ancient canoe-place at Copsie or the Battery, extending north to the Park, and thence to Chatham square and the Bowery, and west to Tivoli Garden, &c., were ancient roads, in the early times of Holland supremacy, which followed the primary Indian foot-paths.

As a general remark, it may be said that the names of the Mon-a-tons, or Manhattanese, were not euphonous, certainly less so than those of the Delawares or Iroquois. *H. R. Schoolcraft.*

Note 2, *page* 2.

HELL-GATE.

About six miles from the renowned city of the Manhattoes, in that sound or arm of the sea which passes between the main land and Nassau, or Long Island, there is a narrow strait, where the current is violently compressed between shouldering promontories, and horribly perplexed by rocks and shoals. Being, at the best of times, a very violent, impetuous current, it takes these impediments in mighty dudgeon; boiling in whirlpools; brawling and fretting in ripples; raging and roaring in rapids and breakers; and, in short, indulging in all kinds of wrong-headed paroxysms. At such times, wo to any unlucky vessel that ventures within its clutches!

This termagant humour, however, prevails only at certain times of tide. At low water, for instance, it is as pacific a stream as you would wish to see; but as the tide rises, it begins to fret; at half-tide it roars with might and main, like a

bully bellowing for more drink ; but when the tide is full, it relapses into quiet, and, for a time, sleeps as soundly as an alderman after dinner. In fact, it may be compared to a quarrelsome toper, who is a peaceable fellow enough when he has no liquor at all, or when he has a skin full, but who, when half-seas-over, plays the very devil.

This mighty, blustering, bullying, hard-drinking little strait, was a place of great danger and perplexity to the Dutch navigators of ancient days ; hectoring their tub-built barks in the most unruly style ; whirling them about in a manner to make any but a Dutchman giddy, and not unfrequently stranding them upon rocks and reefs, as it did the famous squadron of Oloffe the Dreamer, when seeking a place to found the city of the Manhattoes. Whereupon, out of sheer spleen they denominated it *Helle-gat*, and solemnly gave it over to the devil. This appellation has since been aptly rendered into English by the name of Hell-gate, and into nonsense by the name of *Hurl*-gate, according to certain foreign intruders, who neither understood Dutch nor English—may St. Nicholas confound them !

This strait of Hell-gate was a place of great awe and perilous enterprise to me in my boyhood ; having been much of a navigator on those small seas, and having more than once run the risk of shipwreck and drowning in the course of certain holiday-voyages, to which, in common with other Dutch urchins, I was rather prone. Indeed, partly from the name, and partly from various strange circumstances connected with it, this place had far more terrors in the eyes of my truant companions and myself, than had Scylla and Charybdis for the navigators of yore.

In the midst of this strait, and hard by a group of rocks called the Hen and Chickens, there lay the wreck of a vessel which had been entangled in the whirlpools, and stranded during a storm. There was a wild story told to us of this being the wreck of a pirate, and some tale of bloody murder which I cannot now recollect, but which made us regard it with great awe, and keep far from it in our cruisings. Indeed, the desolate look of the forlorn hulk, and the fearful place where it lay rotting, were enough to awaken strange notions. A row of timber-heads, blackened by time, just peered above the surface at high water ; but at low tide a considerable part of the hull was bare, and its great ribs, or timbers, partly stripped of their planks, and dripping with sea-weeds, looked like the huge skeleton of some sea-monster. There was also the stump of a mast, with a few ropes and blocks swinging about, and whistling in the wind, while the sea-gull wheeled and screamed around the melancholy carcass. I have a faint recollection of some hobgoblin tale of sailors' ghosts being seen about this wreck at night, with bare sculls, and blue lights in their sockets instead of eyes, but I have forgotten all the particulars.

In fact, the whole of this neighborhood was like the Straits of Pelorus of yore, a region of fable and romance to me. From the strait to the Manhattoes the borders of the Sound are greatly diversified, being broken and indented by rocky nooks overhung with trees, which give them a wild and romantic look. In the

time of my boyhood, they abounded with traditions about pirates, ghosts, smugglers, and buried money; which had a wonderful effect upon the young minds of my companions and myself.

As I grew to more mature years, I made diligent research after the truth of these strange traditions; for I have always been a curious investigator of the valuable but obscure branches of the history of my native province. I found infinite difficulty, however, in arriving at any precise information. In seeking to dig up one fact, it is incredible the number of fables that I unearthed. I will say nothing of the Devil's Stepping-stones, by which the arch-fiend made his retreat from Connecticut to Long Island, across the Sound; seeing the subject is likely to be learnedly treated by a worthy friend and contemporary historian, whom I have furnished with particulars thereof.* Neither will I say anything of the black man in a three-cornered hat, seated in the stern of a jolly-boat, who used to be seen about Hell-gate in stormy weather, and who went by the name of the pirate's *spuke*, (i. e. pirate's ghost), and whom, it is said, old Governor Stuyvesant once shot with a silver bullet; because I never could meet with any person of staunch credibility who professed to have seen this spectrum, unless it were the widow of Manus Conklen, the blacksmith of Frogsneck; but then, poor woman, she was a little purblind, and might have been mistaken; though they say she saw farther than other folks in the dark.†—*W. Irving.*

Note 3, *page* 2.

"GOVERNOR'S ISLAND bore the name of Nut island, during the Holland supremacy, in Dutch *Nutten:* but whether as is suspected, this was a translation of the Indian *Pecanuc*, or 'nut trees,' is not certain."

Note 4, *page* 2.

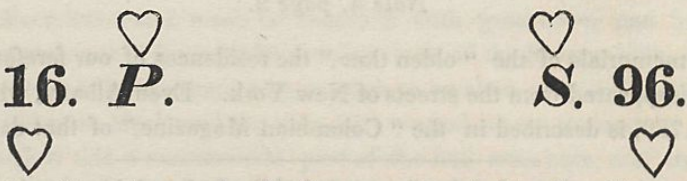
THOSE memorials of the "olden time," the residences of our forefathers, have entirely disappeared from the streets of New York. Even Albany, which in December, 1789, is described in the "Columbian Magazine," of that date, as hav-

* For a very interesting and authentic account of the devil and his stepping-stones, see the Memoir read before the New York Historical Society, since the death of Mr. Knickerbocker, by his friend, an eminent jurist of the place.

† This is a narrow strait in the Sound, at the distance of six miles above New York. It is dangerous to shipping, unless under the care of skilful pilots, by reason of numerous rocks, shelves, and whirlpools. These have received sundry appellations, such as the gridiron, frying-pan, hog's back, pot, &c.; and are very violent and turbulent at certain times of tide. Certain wise men who instruct these modern days have softened the above characteristic name into Hurl-gate, which means nothing. I leave them to give their own etymology. The name as given by our author, is supported by the map in Vander Donck's history, published in 1656, by Ogilvie's History of America, 1671, as also by a journal still extant, written in the sixteenth century, and to be found in Hazard's State Paper. And an old MS., written in French, speaking of various alterations in names about this city, observes "De Hell-gat, tro d'Enfer, ils ont fait Hell-gate, porte d'Enfer."

ing its "houses mostly of brick, built in the old Low Dutch style, with the gable ends towards the street, and terminating at the top with a kind of parapet, indented like stairs; the roofs steep and heavy, surmounted with a staff or spire, with the figure of a horse, &c., by way of a weather cock, the walls of the houses clamped with iron, in the form of letters and numerical figures, designating the initials of the proprietor's name, and the year in which it was built"—has now but two or three buildings of that description; one of which is next adjoining the Female Academy, in North Pearl street, and was close by the celebrated Vander Heyden mansion, described so felicitously by Washington Irving in his story of "Dolph Heyliger," in Bracebridge Hall. There are several houses still remaining on Long Island, venerable for their antiquity, and for the historical incidents connected with their existence. One of them is the house in Southold, known as "the old Youngs' place," which was built in 1688. It was the mansion house of the descendants of the Rev. John Youngs, the first Christian minister in that part of Long Island. In the same town also the edifice known as "Cochran's Hotel," was erected in 1700. If space and time permitted, several others might be noticed, in the Eastern part of the Island. Approaching westwardly through the Island we meet with an ancient brick dwelling on Fort Neck, which a century ago, or more, was known as "the Haunted House;" and had many strange and wonderful stories connected with it, and a lonely grave, marked by an old tomb-stone, some little distance from the house, on the banks of a small stream; a most solitary spot surrounded by a low earth wall.

Flatbush may still boast of several of these relics of former days. Among them is a long old one story Dutch brick house, built in the year 1696; which has the date of its erection, with the initials of its original proprietor's name, formed by blue and red glazed bricks, arranged in the following manner on its front:—



One of the oldest houses in the State, and probably the oldest, was taken down in Brooklyn about twenty years ago. It was said to have been erected by a family who emigrated from Holland, and its history by tradition could be traced back about 190 years, carrying it to the period of the Dutch government in this State as the Colony of "Novum Belgium"—or New Netherlands; it stood on the East side of Fulton street, having been removed for the opening of Market street. The frame of this old building was discovered to be so good and sound, that it is now, with a new outer covering a dwelling house in Jackson street, in the same city;

In the same Fulton street, on the northerly corner of Nassau street, stood an ancient brick house, of whose original date we have no information. It was

used for holding a session of the Colonial Legislature, during the prevalence of the small pox in the city of New York in 1752 ; and was subsequently occupied by Gen. Israel Putnam as his head quarters, during the stay of the American Army on Long Island in the summer 1776. This house was taken down in the month of May 1832, and its timbers, which were all of oak, (as were those of the old house mentioned immediately preceding this, and all the other old buildings of that early period,) and so perfectly sound and hard, that they could not be cut without much difficulty. Most of the beams were worked into the new brick buildings which now occupy the same site.

What an idea does this simple fact afford us of the strength and permanency with which every thing was done by our ancestors. They did not build in haste, or run up houses during the frosts of winter, but all was done with much care and forethought ;—they were building for their posterity as well as for themselves. And as in building, so in every other matter, much time was spent in examining every project in all its probable bearings, before it was adventured upon ; when once undertaken, it was persisted in with a force and spirit almost unknown to the present age. To this peculiar characteristic of our forefathers we owe all the blessings arising from our Institutions of Government. A slight and partial examination of the history of the United States, for the half century preceding the Revolution of 1776, will show us, how many years of patient thought and unwearied toil were deemed necessary by the patriots of that day to precede the great event of the Declaration of Independence, and to give to it the desired stability. They did not dream of getting up a Revolution in a few hours, days, or months, now so common in this world, and whose effects, of course, are as evanescent as were the deliberations which gave them birth.

Another memorial of antiquity, which still remains to us, in Brooklyn, is the Cortelyou Mansion, of stone and brick, at Gowannes, which bears on its gable end, in large iron figures, the date of its erection, 1699. It is a venerable looking edifice ; when viewing it our minds are imperceptibly led to think of how much of human joy and sorrow, happiness and misery such a building must of necessity have been partners to ; and if it had the power to tell, what a strange romance would even the plainest narrative of the facts which have transpired under its roof now appear to us. True it is that fact is often much stranger than any romance which the mind of man ever conceived. This house was the residence of the American General, Lord Sterling, previous to his capture by the British in the Battle of Long Island.

The houses mentioned in this note were among the largest and most important dwellings in the Colony at the period of their erection ; and serve to show us what the most wealthy and noble of the land then thought sufficient for all their wants, and for the accommodation of their families and friends. In the century following there was an evident change in sentiment in this respect ; the houses were larger, and from being long and narrow with two front doors, not unfrequently side by side, and one, or one and a half stories high, they became square, and two stories in height, affording double the amount of room,

if not more, than in the old style of building in the century immediately preceeding. This new style, even now would be regarded highly respectable in appearance. There are however but few, very few, instances of it in existence, One of the last in Brooklyn, was the old Goralemon House, destroyed by fire about three years since. It was sometime preceding the American Revolution the mansion house of Philip Livingston, Esq., who being attached to the American cause, and a member of the Continental Congress, the British army in 1776, took possession of his house, and converted it into a naval hospital, for which purpose it was used during the whole of the revolutionary war. This house was finished in the best style of art of that period; the mantle pieces were of Italian marble, beautifully carved in high relief, in Italy, And the gardens attached to the house, are spoken of as among the most beautiful in America.

Some little idea of it may be formed from the following extracts of a letter, written from New York to London, dated Dec. 20, 1779. The writer says:— "The physician, (the English fleet physician,) had removed all the sick seamen from that large house of Livingston's, on Long Island, and had sent them to barns, stables, and other holes, in the neighbourhood, and turned the great house into a palace for himself, the surgeon and his assistants. This house was capable of accommodating four hundred sick." "The hospital was changed into a house of feasting; nothing was to be seen but grand public dinners. These halcyon days went on till the arrival of Admiral Arbuthnot. The manifest bad conduct at the hospital prevented many of the captains from sending their sick men to it; and when Admiral Arbuthnot arrived, they went to him open mouthed with complaints." On this the admiral determined to examine the matter. After surveying the sick, he went to the house. "What with paint and paper, the great house appeared in high taste, very elegant indeed. The two hospital commanders met him at the door, and introduced him into the grandest apartment. The Admiral stared about him, and asked who these apartments belonged to? Their answer was, "to the physician and surgeon." "A palace," said the Admiral, swearing an oath. The result was, he turned them both out of office, and brought the sick sailors into the house again.

Note 5, page 3.

LONG ISLAND,

May be described as the South Easterly portion of the State of New York; it extends from Fort Hamilton at the *Narrows* to Montauk Point, a distance of about one hundred and forty miles. Its breadth, as far east as Peconic Bay, varies from twelve to twenty miles, in a distance of 90 miles. It is divided into three counties, Kings, Queens and Suffolk. It contained in 1840, 110,406 inhabitants. The estimated area of the whole, is 1500 square miles, or 960,000 acres.

It is supposed that Long Island was once part of the continent, separated from it, by the waters of the Sound breaking through at the narrow strait of Hellgate, to New York Bay. The Indians have a tradition, that their fathers passed this strait dry shod, by stepping from rock to rock.---*Gordon's History of New York.*

Note 6, page 5.

RONCONCOA LAKE.

Among the natural curiosities of Long Island will always be ranked by those who are acquainted with that Island throughout its length, that beautiful sheet of water, known as "Ronconcoa Lake;" which is situated about an equal distance between the West end of the Island and Montauk Point, and also about half way between the Sound and the shore of the Atlantic. It is nearly circular, and if it was upon elevated ground, and in a volcanic district, it would have very much the appearance of the crater of an extinct volcano. For a long time it was believed to be unfathomable, but it has been sounded in some parts; the depth is however surprisingly great considering the situation.

Its great, and supposed unfathomable depth, together with an ebb and flow observed in its waters at different periods, had early made it the theme of Indian story and tradition. They regarded it with a species of superstitious veneration, and although it abounded in a variety of fish, (and still does so,) they at the early settlement of the country by the white men, refused to eat the fish; regarding them as superior beings, and believing that they were specially placed there by the Great Spirit.

This interesting lake is about three miles in circumference, and its shores consist of small white pebbles and sand; in which respect it differs from any other of the lakes in this State. Another peculiarity about it, is, that, a part of it is claimed by four towns, viz: Smithtown, Setauket, Islip, and Patchogue; it lying upon the boundary line which divides them.

It is but a few years since this lake became known to tourists and travellers for pleasure generally, (although it has long been known to a few admirers of nature's beauties,) and it now comes upon the public notice with all the disadvantages resulting from a comparison with the better known and more boasted beauties of the Northern and Western lakes, yet we doubt whether any have visited it with a true taste for the beautiful and lovely in the works of Nature, who have come away disappointed, and who have not felt their anticipations fully realized. Those who go there must not expect to see any thing of the sublime or grand, as it is commonly understood, but if they can be pleased with a most lovely placid scene, they will enjoy their pleasure to its fullest bent.

Note 7, page 6.

HEMPSTEAD PLAINS,

Of which the plain before mentioned is part, have been considered a great natural curiosity, from the first discovery of the country. To look over such a great extent of land without observing a sensible elevation in any part, to relieve the eye, until the horizon meets the level, appears like looking over the ocean ; and this is greatly strengthened from the circumstance, that there is not a tree growing naturally upon the whole region ; a few scattered clumps upon the borders of the plain, whose tops are just visible above the surface, in the distance, are precisely like small islands. In the summer the rarefaction of the air over so large a surface, exposed to the Sun's hot rays, occasions the phenomena of "looming," as seen in the harbors near the sea, which elevating these tree tops, as a mass, and causing the surrounding soil, shrouded in a thin and almost transparent vapor, to look like water, makes the deception complete.

There has scarcely a traveller of any note visited this part of North America, who does not mention these plains, and regard them worthy of description. The Rev. A. Burnaby, who travelled through the Middle Colonies in 1759, visited them in July of that year. He describes them as "between twenty and thirty miles long, and four or five miles broad ; and says there was not a tree then growing upon them, and it is asserted (says he) that there never were any." That there should never have been any trees upon this large tract may appear strange to us, but it is not a solitary instance of such a want, even upon this Island. The "Shinnecock Hills," (so named after a tribe of Indians now extinct,) near Southampton, have never had a tree upon them from the first discovry of the Island to this day, although the surrounding country is well wooded.

Mr. Burnaby also speaks of the great interest manifested by the inhabitants of New York, at that period, almost one hundred years ago, in reference to this interesting spot, *the Plains*, and observes, that "strangers are always carried to see this place, as a great curiosity, and *the only one of the kind in North America.*" This last remark, which now appears singular to us, was then true, in reference to the knowledge possessed of the interior of this Continent ; the immense plains, and prairies of the "Far West," were then unknown, unless it might be to a very few of the most adventurous of the Indian traders, who themselves had little or no intercourse with the sea board.

The North American Gazetteer, 12mo. London, 1776, after mentioning these plains, and describing them much in the same manner with Mr. Burnaby, states, that the whole region is "without a stick or stone upon it." This is literally true, the only stones found in the tract are coarse, sea washed gravel, having very much the appearance as if it had once been the bed of a large lake or a shallow bay putting up from the ocean. So entirely bare of stone is the country about this vicinity for numbers of miles in extent, that the inhabitants

are obliged to resort for their building stone to the ridge of hills which run through the centre of the Island, commonly known as " the Back-bone."

It will be seen by reference to this work that horse races were run upon those plains as early as 1670. They continued without interruption from that early period until the revolutionary contest, and in the year 1775, these plains were celebrated for their horse races throughout all the North American Colonies, and even in England. These races were held twice a year for a silver cup ; " to which, (says the North American Gazetteer, London, 1776,) the gentry of New England and New York resorted." This race course was known as the " New Market Course," after the celebrated one of that name in England, and continued to be used through the revolution, and for a long period subsequently.

The revolutionary contest which caused so much misery and distress throughout the continent generally, seems to have made that portion of Long Island within the control of the British forces a scene of almost continued amusement. They then had the control of New York, Kings County, Queens County, and about half of Suffolk County. There were two British regiments in Brooklyn during the whole war, and several companies, and parts of regiments posted in the different towns through the Island ; and the waggon train, and blacksmith and armory department of the British army were located in Brooklyn. These circumstances, together with the large garrison in the city of New York, caused this Island to be much resorted to by the officers and fashionables of the day, for sporting. In the Royal Gazette of August 8th, 1781, printed in New York, Charles Loosley advertises a lottery of $12,500, to be drawn at " Brooklyn Hall." The same paper contains the following curious advertisement, relating to the sports and amusements of that day.

" Pro Bono Publico.—Gentlemen that are fond of fox hunting, are requested to meet at Loosley's Tavern, on *Ascot Heath*, on Friday morning next between the hours of five and six, as a pack of hounds will be there purposely for a trial of their abilities. Breakfasting and relishes until the *races* commence. At eleven o'clock will be run for, an elegant saddle, &c., value at least twenty pounds, for which upwards of twelve gentlemen will ride their own horses. At twelve, a match will be rode by two gentlemen, horse for horse. At one, a match for thirty guineas, by two gentlemen, who will ride their own horses.

Dinner will be ready at two o'clock ; after which, and suitable regalements, racing and other diversions, will be calculated to conclude the day with pleasure and harmony. Brooklyn Hall, 6th, August, 1781."

What a bill is here for the amusements of a single day ! and yet this was far from being uncommon or extraordinary at that period. Of course there must have been a very large amount of wealth circulated by the British officers in leading such a continued train of pleasure and sporting. We are not left to inference on this point ; all who speak of this part of America during that period, mention such to be the fact.

Lieut. Auberry, in a letter from New York to a friend in England, dated October 30th, 1781, observes :—

" On crossing the East River from New York, you land at Brooklyn, which is a scattered village, consisting of a few houses. At this place is an excellent tavern, where parties are made to go and eat fish ; the landlord of which has saved an immense fortune this war."

The tavern referred to in the preceding advertisement and letter, was a large, gloomy, old fashioned stone building, standing on the north side of Fulton street, one door West of the corner of Fulton and Front streets ; the property of the Corporation of New York, and was destroyed by fire in 1813. It was occupied as a Tavern up to the day it was burnt.

The " Hempstead Plains," as they are termed, are now estimated to contain about seventeen thousand acres of unenclosed land, which the inhabitants of the town of Hempstead own in common. The village of Hempstead is situated on the southern margin of this great level. From the first settlement of the country until within about the last thirty years, it was universally believed, that this great tract of land could never be cultivated—that if turned up by the plough it was so porous, the water would at once run through it, and leave the vegetation on the surface to perish from drought—that nothing would grow upon it but the tall coarse grass which seems a native of that region. This belief continued it seems even without an attempt to test its accuracy by experiment, until within the present century ; when some persons who were in want of more land than they possessed, gradually took in small portions adjoining them, and submitted it to a course of cultivation. To their surprise it not only answered for grass, but for grain, and would also support a growth of trees, if they were only introduced upon it. This discovery led to the taking in and enclosing of whole farms, the people regarding it as a kind of waste land in which no one had so good a title as he who took possession and cultivated it, which opened the eyes of the good people of Hempstead to the fact that their great plains, which were before esteemed of no value except to graze a few cattle, and feed half wild Turkeys, (which last, by the way, are the best of the turkey kind our country affords,) were truly valuable as farms ; and they accordingly took measures to preserve their common rights in what remained of this great tract,—and the time is probably not very far distant, when the traveller will ask with surprise what has become of this extensive region of barren land, which was so long considered one of the wonders of the North American Continent ; and will scarcely believe that his eye is traversing the same extent when it is directed to those highly cultivated fields, and beautiful grass meadows, which will occupy its site.

Note 8, *page* 7.

INDIANS.

At the first settlement of the white inhabitants there was a very numerous Indian population on Long Island, as is evident from the large portion of his work, which Denton devotes to describing their manners and customs. We have

preserved the names of thirteen of their tribes. At various periods discoveries have been made of the remains and relics of these extinct aborigines. On digging a few feet below the surface, at the Narrows, in Kings County, some years ago, more than a waggon load of Indian stone arrow-heads were discovered lying together, under circumstances calculated to induce the belief that a large manufactory of these article once existed at this place ; they were of all sizes, from one to six inches long, some perfect, others partly finished. There were also a number of blocks of the same kind of stone found in the rough state as when brought from the quarry ; they had the appearance of ordinary flint, and were nearly as hard ; not only arrow-heads, but axes and other articles of domestic use, were made from these stones.

In the same county the most powerful and extensive tribe was the Canarse Indians ; a small tribe called the Nyack Indians was settled at the Narrows. The old Dutch inhabitants of this county had a tradition, that the Canarse tribe was subject to the Mohawks ; (as all the Iroquois, or Six Nations, were formerly called on Long Island ;) and paid them an annual tribute of dried clams and wampum. After the white settlement in this county, some persons persuaded the Carnases to keep back the tribute ; in consequence of which a party of the Mohawk Indians came down the Hudson River from their village, a little South of Albany, and killed their tributaries wherever they met them. The Canarse Indians are now totally extinct.

In Queens County, the Rockaway, Merrikoke, and Marsapeague tribes of Indians were settled on the South side, and the Matinecoe tribe on the North side. In this county about the year 1654, a battle was fought between the English under Capt. John Underhill, and the Indians, in which the latter were defeated with considerable loss. This was the only contest of any importance between the white men and the Indians on Long Island, of which we have any account.*

About thirty miles from Brooklyn, and midway between the North and South sides of this Island, is a hill known as *Manett,* or *Manetta* hill. This is a corruption of the true name, which was *Manitou* hill, or the hill of the Great Spirit. Which appellation is founded on the tradition that many ages since the Aborigines residing in those parts suffered extremely from the want of water. Under their sufferings they offered up prayers to the Great Spirit for relief. That in reply to their supplications, the Good Spirit directed that their principal Chieftain should shoot his arrow in the air, and on the spot where it fell they should dig, and would assuredly discover the element they so much desired. They pursued the direction, dug, and found water. There is now a well situated on this rising ground ; and the tradition continues to say, that this well is on the very spot

* The remains of the Fort erected by the Indians in 1653, and which they occupied previous to this battle, are yet to be seen on Fort Neck. This neck of land derives its name from that fortification.

indicated by the Good Spirit. This hill was undoubtedly used in ancient times as the place of general offering to the Great Spirit in the name and behalf of all the surrounding people, and was of the character of the hill altars so common among the early nations. It is from this circumstance that the name was probably derived.

In Suffolk County were the Nissaquage, Setauket, Corchaug, Secataug, Patchogue, Shinnecoc, and Montauk tribes of Indians. The Manhanset tribe was on Shelter Island. These tribes have all disappeared except a few individuals of the Montauk and Shinnecoc tribes.

Much was done at various periods towards the civilization of the Indians on this Island, by sending Missionaries and teachers to reside among them, and by instructing them in the art of cultivating the soil. In 1741, Rev. Azariah Horton was on the "Mission to the Long Island Indians," and he describes the situation of those Indians at that period, August, 1741, to be as follows:—"At the East end of the Island there are two small towns of the Indians; and from the East to the West end of the Island, lesser companies settled at a few miles distance from one another, for the length of above one hundred miles." At his first coming among them, he says he was "well received by the most, and heartily welcomed by some of them;—they at the East end of the Island especially, gave diligent and serious attention to his instructions." Mr. Horton states that he baptized thirty-five adults and forty-four children among these Indians. "He took pains with them to learn them to read; and some of them have made considerable proficiency." This was during the first year of his residence among them, but in the account he gave in the early part of 1743, he complains heavily "of a great defection of some of them, from their first Reformation and care of their souls, occasioned by strong drink—a vice (he says) to which the Indians are every where so greatly addicted, and so vehemently disposed, that nothing but the power of Divine Grace can restrain that impetuous lust, when they have an opportunity to gratify it."

This was the history of every attempt to meliorate the condition of these poor tribes. So long as they were in the course of instruction, and every thing was done for them, or they were assisted in doing matters in order to learn them, things went on well; but the moment they were left to themselves to put in practice the instructions they had received, in governing their own towns, in conducting their own church service, teaching their own schools, and in cultivating their own fields, they began to retrograde;—the benefits which they had received were not communicated by them to their children; and of course the next generation were almost as much of savages, as their fathers were before the advantages of civilization were introduced among them. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, oft repeated attempts were made to induce the remnants of these Aborigines to adopt the habits and practices of civilized life, and with but partial success;—laws were enacted by the State Legislature to facilitate these benevolent efforts, and to prevent trespasses upon the lands of the Indians. It seems to have been impossible to satisfy the aboriginal inhabitants

of this island of the value of education, or to convince them that it was not rather a disadvantage for them to possess it. This trait is not however, peculiar to the Indians of Long Island, it is now found in full operation in the minds of great numbers of the Aborigines west of the Mississippi, and is a most serious bar to their advancement in civilized life. They esteem their own education, (if it may be so called,) as immensely superior to that which we offer them, for the life which they lead, and which they desire to continue to lead; and look upon the learning and knowledge which we tender to them as only calculated to be of use to the white men. Nothing effectual can be done towards civilizing and instructing the Indians until they truly become cultivators of the soil for a subsistence,—until they look to the grain which they raise, and to the cattle and stock which they rear for a living, in place of seeking it in the chase, and in fishing upon the lakes and rivers. The moment they become truly fixed to the soil, (and that will probably not be until after one generation of cultivators shall have passed away,) they will see and feel the necessity of knowledge, and will then of their own motion seek for it;—until that time arrives it is thrown away,—they place no value on it,—they on the contrary esteem it an impediment to the course of life on which they depend for the means of existence.

In order to promote friendship and a future good understanding between the Indians and the white settlers, on the 3d day of March, 1702–3, they respectively entered into a written agreement with each other; settling all differences, and declaring what belonged to the Indians, and what to the whites.

Under this agreement they continued to live in peace with each other until some sime after the close of the Revolutionary War, when the Indians began to imagine that their ancestors had not sold to the white proprietors, in 1702–3 and previously, all the lands they were at this period (about 1787) in possession of. This idea becoming strengthened, the Indians turned their cattle into some of the fenced fields of the white people, which caused their impounding; and this in the eyes of the Indians became a serious grievance, of which they complained to the State Legislature in the spring of 1807. And April 6th of that year, an act was passed directing the appointment of Ezra L'Hommedieu, John Smith, and Nicoll Floyd, as Commissioners to enquire into these grievance, and to make such arrangements as they should judge equitable, for the future improvement of the lands at Montauk by those Indians.

These Commissioners made their Report to the New York Legislature on the 30th of January, 1808,—from which it appears that the Indians were in error in believing that their ancestors had not conveyed to the white proprietors all the lands they were then in possession of; and they also appended to their report, the original agreement which was made between the Indians and the whites on the 3d of March, 1702-3, for the settling of all differences—which the Legislature ordered to be filed in the office of the Secretary of State. By their report the Commissioners state that "the uneasiness of the Indians, in respect to their rights to land on Montauk, has been occasioned principally by strangers (not inhabitants of this State,) who, for a number of years past, have made a practice of visiting

them, and have received from them produce and obligations for money, for council and advice, and their engagements to assist them in respect to their claims to lands on Montauk, other than those they now hold by the aforesaid agreement." "The neck of land they (the Indians) live on, contains about one thousand acres of the first quality, on which, by the aforesaid agreement, they have a right to plant Indian corn without restriction, as to the number of acres, besides improving thirty acres for wheat or grass; to keep two hundred and fifty swine, great and small, and fifty horse kind and neat cattle, and to get hay to winter them. They now enjoy privileges equal with their ancestors, since the date of the said agreement, although their numbers have greatly diminished, and, in the opinion of your Commissioners, there is no necessity of any further legislative interference respecting them."

In 1816 the Montauks were the only tribe that remained on the Island, which preserved its distinctive character. During that year Governor Tompkins, at the request of the Montauk Indians, appointed Richard Hubbel and Isaac Keeler Esqrs. Commissioners to enquire into the trespasses committed on their property, and as far as practicable, to have them redressed. In their report, the Commissioners state, (speaking of the number and condition of the tribe,) "about fifty families, consisting of one hundred and forty-eight persons, men, women, and children, inhabit said point—that fourteen of the women are widows—and that they live in about thirty huts, or wigwams, nearly in the same style as Indians have for centuries past." These Indians obtained their living principally from the sea, although they tilled some land for raising corn, beans, and potatoes in small patches or lots. They were in possession of about five hundred acres of land of the best quality. They kept cows, swine, poultry, one horse and one pair of oxen. Their land through bad tillage was unproductive. Civilization and education were then, according to the Commissioners' report, much on the decline, and their house of worship, which was formerly in a flourishing state, was then going to ruin. The elder Indians had learning sufficient to read and write, but the children were brought up in a savage state. The only other remains of the Eastern Long Island tribes were a few individuals of the Shinnecoc tribe, and some few others, whose tribes are not distinguished. At this period, and for some time subsequent, the young men among these Indian tribes were accustomed to go out as sailors in the whaling ships from Saggharbor.

These Indians have now almost entirely disappeared from the face of the earth. In 1829 the Montauk Indians had dwindled away to five or six families. When they took care of themselves, and were clean, they were a remarkably good looking race of Indians, and some of their females were very handsome women. The royal family of the Montauks were distinguished among the English, by the name of *Faro*. The last of the family, a female, died about 1825.

Canoe place, on the South side of Long Island, near Southampton, derives its name from the fact, that more than two centuries ago, a canal was made there by the Indians, for the purpose of passing their canoes from one bay to the other, (that is across the Island, from Mecox bay to Peconic bay.) Although the trench

has been in a great measure filled up, yet its remains are still visible, and partly flowed at high water. It was constructed by *Mongotucksee,* (or long knife,) who then reigned over the nation of Montauk. Although that nation has now dwindled to a few miserable remnants of a powerful race, who still linger on the lands which was once the seat of their proud dominion, yet their traditional history is replete with all those tragical incidents which usually accompany the fall of power. It informs us, that their chief was of gigantic form—proud and despotic in peace and terrible in war. But although a tyrant of his people, yet he protected them from their enemies, and commanded their respect for his savage virtues. The praises of *Mongotucksee* are still chaunted in aboriginal verse, to the winds that howl around the eastern extremity of the island. The Narragansetts and the Mohocks yielded to his prowess, and the ancestors of the last of the Mohiccans trembled at the expression of his anger. He sustained his power not less by the resources of his mind than by the vigor of his arm. An ever watchful policy guided his councils. Prepared for every exigency, not even aboriginal sagacity could surprise his caution. To facilitate communication around the seat of his dominion,—for the purpose not only of defence but of annoyance, he constructed this canal, which remains a monument of his genius, while other traces of his skill and prowess are lost in oblivion, and even the nation whose valor he led, may soon furnish for our country a topic in contemplating the fallen greatness of the last of the Montauks.

The strong attachment and veneration which the Montauk Indians had for their Chief is evidenced by the following fact. Within a short distance of Sagg-harbor, in the forest, is a shallow excavation which these Indians were formerly very particular in keeping clean; each one in passing, stopped to clean it out, of any dirt or leaves which may have fallen into it. The reason they gave for so doing, was, that a long time ago a Montauk Chief having died at Shinnecoc, the Indians brought him from that place to Ammagansett to be interred, in the usual burying place; and during their journey, they stopped to rest, and placed the body of their dead Chieftain in that excavation during the meanwhile;—in consequence of which the spot had acquired a species of sacred character.

After the death of Mongotucksee, the Montauks were subjugated by the Iroquois or Six Nations, and became their tributaries, as indeed did the most, if not all of the Indian tribes on Long Island. On the authority of the Rev. Dr. Bassett, the Dutch Reformed minister at Bushwick, Long Island, about 1823, and who was previously a minister of that Church in Albany, it is said that the Montauk Indians paid a tribute to the Six Nations of Indians; and that the Consistory of the Dutch Church at Albany, in their desire to preserve peace between the Indian tribes, were formerly the means through which this tribute passed from one to the other. Wampum, or Indian money, and dried clams were the payments in which this tribute was made.

It may not be a little singular to some to be told that the best Wampum, formed of the heart of the shell of the common hard clam, is at this day manufactured on Long Island; to be sent to the Indians in the Western States and

Territories, for the purpose both of a circulating medium, and of Conventions and Treaties. In the summer of 1831, several bushels of Wampum were brought from Babylon on this Island; and the person who had them, stated that he had procured them for an Indian trader, and that he was in the habit of supplying those traders with this Wampum.

Note 9, *page* 8.

WAMPUM.

THE first money in use in New-York, then New-Netherlands, and also in New-England, was *Seawant*, *Wampum*, or *Peague*, for it was known by all those names. *Seawant* was the generic name of this Indian money, of which there were two kinds; *wompam*, (commonly called *wampum*,) which signifies *white*, and *suckanhock*, *sucki* signifying *black*. Wampum, or wampum-peague, or simply, peague, was also understood, although improperly, among the Dutch and English, as expressive of the generic denomination, and in that light was used by them in their writings and public documents. *Wampum*, or white money, was originally made from the stem or stock of the *metean-hock*, or perriwinkle; *suckanhock*, or black money, was manufactured from the inside of the shell of the *quahaug*, (Venus Mercenaria,) commonly called the hard clam, a round thick shellfish that buries itself a little way in the sand in salt-water. The Indians broke off about half an inch of the purple colour of the inside, and converted it into beads. These before the introduction of awls and thread, were bored with sharp stones, and strung upon the sinews of animals, and when interwoven to the breadth of the hand, more or less, were called a belt of seawant, or wampum. A black bead, of the size of a large straw, about one-third of an inch long, bored longitudinally and well polished, was the gold of the Indians, and always esteemed of twice the value of the white; but either species was considered by them, of much more value than European coin. An Indian chief, to whom the value of a rix dollar was explained by the first clergyman of Rensselaerwyck, laughed exceedingly to think the Dutch should set so high a value upon a piece of iron, as he termed the dollar. Three beads of black, and six of white, were equivalent, among the English, to a penny, and among the Dutch, to a stuyver. But with the latter the equivalent number sometimes varied from three and six, to four and eight, depending upon the finishing of the seawant. Seawant was also sometimes made from the common oyster shell, and both kinds made from the hard clam shell.

The use of wampum was not known in New-England until it was introduced there in the month of October, 1627, by Isaac De Razier, the secretary of New-Netherland, while on his embassy to the authorities of Plymouth colony, for the purpose of settling a treaty of amity and commerce between that colony and New-Netherland, when he carried wampum and goods, and with them purchased corn at Plymouth. To this introduction of wampum into New-England,

Hubbard attributes all their wars with the Indians which afterwards ensued; and in his history speaks of this circumstance in the following manner:

"Whatever were the honey in the mouth of that beast of trade, there was a deadly sting in the tail. For it is said they (the Dutch) first brought our people to the knowledge of *wampam-peag;* and the acquaintance therewith occasioned the Indians of these parts to learn the skill to make it, by which, as by the exchange of money, they purchased store of artillery, both from the English, Dutch and French, which proved a fatal business to those that were concerned in it. It seems the trade thereof was at first, by strict proclamation, prohibited by the king. *'Sed quid non mortalis pectora cogis, duri sacri fames!'* The love of money is the root of all evil, &c." (*See Hubbard's History of New-England.*)

Although the general distinction of this seawant was black and white, yet that in use in New-England was black, blue and white; and that of the Five Nations of Indians was of a purple colour. A string of this shell money, one fathom long, varied in price, from five shillings, among the New-Englanders, to four guilders, (or one dollar sixty-six and a half cents,) among the Dutch. The process of trade was this; the Dutch and English sold for seawant to the Indians of the interior, their knives, combs, scissors, needles, awls, looking-glasses, hatchets, guns, black cloth, and other articles of aboriginal traffic, (the Indians at this time rejected fabrics in which the least white colour in their texture was discoverable;) and with the seawant bought the furs, corn and venison from the Indians on the seaboard, who also with their shell money bought such articles from the aborigines residing farther inland; and by this course the white men saved the trouble of transporting their furs and grain through the country. Thus, by this circulating medium, a brisk commerce was carried on, not only between the white people and the Indians, but also between different tribes among the latter. So much was this seawant the circulating medium of many of the European colonies, in North America, that the different governments found it necessary to make regulations on the subject. In 1641 an ordinance in council, in the city of New-Amsterdam, (now New-York,) was enacted, and the Dutch Governor Kieft, which recited, that a vast deal of bad seawant, or wampum—"*nasty rough things* imported from other places"—was in circulation, while the "good, splendid seawant, usually called *Manhattan's seawant,* was out of sight, or *exported,* which must cause the ruin of the country!" Therefore, in order to remedy the evil, the ordinance provides, that, all coarse seawant, well stringed, should pass at six for one stuyver only, but the well polished at four for a stuyver, and whoever offered or received the same at a different price, should forfeit the same, and also ten guilders to the poor. This is the first public expression of an apprehension of evil to the country from *the exportation of specie,* that we have met with in our history; but like most other matters of the kind, it seems to have regulated itself, and the country went on prospering, from the little city of about two hundred and fifty inhabitants, as New-York then was, to the great commercial mart with a population of near four hundred thousand as it is at present.

That there was some reason for this regulation of our Dutch government is evident from the following provision of the Connecticut code of laws of 1650, which is a re-enactment of some laws which had been in force for many years previous, by which it is ordered,

"That no *peage*, (as they called seawant,) white or black, bee paid or received, but what is strunge, and in some measure strunge sutably, and not small and great, *uncomely and disorderly mixt, as formerly it hath beene.*"

The colony of Massachusetts in 1648 passed a law declaring, that *wampampeag*, (as they called seawant,) should pass current in the payment of debts to the amount of forty shillings; the white at eight for a penny, and the black at four for a penny, "if entire, without breaches or spots; except in the payment of county rates to the treasurer." This law continued in force until in the year 1661, when it was repealed, although seawant continued to form a part of the circulating medium of that colony for a long period subsequent to that repeal.

This wampum currency appears sometimes to have been measured by *the fathom*, in New-England. The Pequot Indians, in the year 1656, paid as a tribute to the United Colonies of New-England two hundred and fifteen fathoms of wampum,—of which amount the Commissioners of the United Colonies paid to Thomas Stanton, their agent among the Indians, one hundred and twenty fathoms for his salary, which being deducted, there remained 95 fathoms, which together with 51 fathoms at New-Haven, being in all one hundred and forty-six fathoms, was divided among the United Colonies, according to the number of males enumerated in the year 1655, in the following manner, being the first distribution of *public moneys* in the good old time of our history:

To Massachusetts, - - - - - - - -	94 fathoms, 2s. 6d.
" Plymouth, - - - - - - - - -	18 fathoms.
" Connecticut, - - - - - - - -	20 fathoms, 2s. 0d.
" New-Haven. - - - - - - -	13 fathoms, 0s. 6d.
Total, - - -	146

Sundry orders and regulations made by the different governments throughout the seventeenth century show that this shell money continued to form a most important part of their circulation. The governor and council in the city of New-York on the 24th of June, 1673, made an order, declaring that by reason of the *scarcity* of wampum, that which had hitherto passed at the rate of eight white and four black pairs, for a stuyver or penny, should then pass at six white, and three black pairs, for a stuyver or penny, "and three times so much the value of silver." At this period there was little "certain coin in the government" of New-York, and wampum readily passed as change for current payment in all cases. This seawant, or wampum, was the only Indian money ever known in North America,—it was not only the money of the Indians, but also the ornament of their persons. It distinguished the rich from the poor, the proud from the humble. It was the tribute paid by the vanquished to those, the Five Nations for instance, who had exacted contribution. In the form of a belt, it was sent

with all public messages between the Indian tribes, and preserved as a record of all public transactions among the aboriginal people. If a message was sent without the belt, it was considered an empty word, unworthy of remembrance. If the belt was returned, it was a rejection of the offer or proffer accompanying it. If accepted, it was a confirmation, and strengthened friendship, or effaced injuries. The belt with appropriate figures worked in it, was also the record of domestic transactions. The confederation of the Five Nations was thus recorded. These shells had indeed more virtue among the Indians, than pearls, gold and silver had among Europeans. Seawant was the seal of a contract—the oath of fidelity. It satisfied murders, and all other injuries; purchased peace, and entered into the religious as well as the civil ceremonies of the aborigines. A string of seawant was delivered by the orator in public council, at the close of every distinct proposition made to others, as a ratification of the truth and sincerity of what he said, and the white and black strings of seawant were tied by the Pagan priest, around the neck of the white dog suspended to a pole, and offered as a sacrifice to *T'haloughyawaagon,* the upholder of the skies, the God of the Five Nations. (*See Yates and Moulton's History of New-York.*)

The wampum, or seawant, continued to be manufactured in different parts of the State of New-York until a comparatively recent period. William Smith, Esq., in his History of the Colony of New-York, mentions, that a short time previous to writing his work, several poor families at Albany made their living by manufacturing this Indian money. Several years after that period, we find it still made in large quantities upon Statten Island in the harbor of New-York. The Rev. Andrew Burnaby in his interesting travels through the Middle Colonies of North America, in 1759 and 1760, mentions, that in journeying from Philadelphia to New-York, on the 9th of July, 1760, he crossed over to that island, and travelled up it "about nine miles, to a point which is opposite New-York city;" and from thence sailed in a boat to the city, which was then the usual route of travelling between these two places. In thus passing through Statten Island, he says, "I had an opportunity of seeing the method of making wampum. This I am persuaded the reader knows is the current money amongst the Indians. It is made of the clam shell; a shell consisting of two colors, purple and white; and in form not unlike a thick oyster shell. The process of manufacturing it is very simple. It is first chipped to a proper size, which is that of a small oblong parallelopiped, then drilled, and afterwards ground to a round smooth surface and polished. The purple wampum is much more valuable than the white; a very small part of the shell being of that color."

In my note upon the Indian tribes of Long Island it is stated, that within the last fourteen years this seawant was made in the eastern part of Long Island, for the use of the Indian traders in the Far West, to be applied to the purposes of their traffic, and for the making of treaties with the aboriginal tribes.

The manner in which the business of the country was carried on in the absence of a metallic currency, for one hundred and twenty years after the first settlement of New-York and New-England, evinces much ingenuity. For this long period,

in addition to the seawant, or wampum, the produce of the soil, of almost every description, formed the legalized medium by which the trade of our ancestors was conducted.

In New-Amsterdam, now New-York, beaver skins appear to have been much used during the seventeenth century, as a medium of exchange between the factor of European manufactures and the consumer here;—as for instance,—in 1661 bricks imported from Holland were sold in New-York for four dollars and sixteen cents a thousand, *payable in beaver skins.* And not only were these skins used for the purposes of foreign exchange, but they also seem under the English government to have been a general representative of value; and December 2, 1670, the Mayor's Court of the city of New-York, ordered, upon the petition of the widow of Jan Hendric Steelman *alias* Coopall, that she be allowed out of his estate, "to support her this winter the vallue of tenne beavers."

Other articles were also used as the representatives of value in the purchase and sale of commodities, both foreign and domestic. Under the Dutch government, as early as 1636, the New-Netherlands became celebrated for its excellent growth of tobacco, much of which was exported to Holland, or the Fatherland. Tobacco formed a prominent article in the products of the Colony of New-York for a period of about one hundred years; by reason of which that article was much used as a measure of value. Previous to the commencement of the eighteenth century in very many, and indeed a large majority, of the suits brought in the different courts in the Colony of New-York, the damages sought to be recovered were stated at a certain number of pounds of tobacco, or a certain number of beaver skins, instead of a sum of money; and it was in that manner that the verdicts of the juries and the judgments of the courts were rendered. For a considerable period about the year 1666, in the same colony, the town and county rates, or taxes, were paid in beef and pork, at a value fixed by the legislative authority; and in 1675, winter wheat was taken in payment of all debts, by the governor's order, at five shillings, and summer wheat at four shillings and sixpence per bushel.

In all the towns in New-England in the early part of the eighteenth century, and for a long time previous, it was the custom of shopkeepers, (as all merchants were then designated,) to sell their goods for "*pay,—money,—pay as money,—and trust.*" *Pay,* was grain, pork, beef, &c., at the prices fixed by the legislature. *Money,* was pieces of eight reals, (dollars,) Boston, or Bay shillings, (as they were termed,) or *good hard money,* as they frequently called silver coin; and also wampum, which served for change. *Pay as money,* was provisions of any kind taken at a rate one-third lower than the price set by the legislature; and *trust,* was a credit for such time as the buyer and seller could agree; in which case, if the credit extended beyond a few days, one-fourth or fifth was usually added to the price for which the articles would have been sold at a cash sale.

Madam Knight in her journal, kept of a Journey from Boston to New-York,

in the year 1704, gives the following humorsome description of "trading" as it existed in New-England at that period.

"When the buyer comes to ask for a commodity, sometimes before the merchant answers that he has it, he says, *is your pay ready?* Perhaps the chap replies, *yes. What do you pay in?* says the merchant. The buyer having answered, then the price is set; as suppose he wants a sixpenny knife, in *pay* it is twelvepence,—in *pay as money* eightpence, and in *hard money* its own price, viz.: sixpence. It seems a very intricate way of trade, and what *Lex Mercatoria* had not thought of."

Note 10, *page* 9.

FUTURE STATE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

"THE immortality of the soul and a future state is generally believed among them. When good men die, they say their souls go to Kichtan where they meet their friends, have splendid entertainments, and enjoy all manner of pleasures. When wicked men die, they go to Kichtan Habitation too, and knock at the door, but they have no answer from him but Quachet, that is, Walk away, and so they wander about in restless discontent and horror forever. When some of the English have talk'd with 'em of the Resurrection of the Body, all the answer they could get from them was, that it was impossible, and that they should never believe it." —*Neal's History of New England.*

We have conversed with Indians who were clearly atheists, and treated as fabulous all notions of the immortality of the soul, and defended their opinions with as much ingenuity and acuteness as low and abandoned white people, who profess to hold the same opinions. But in some shape or form, almost all savages admit the being of God, and the immortality of the soul. The Great "Spirit" is termed, in many of their languages, "WAHCONDA," or Master of Life. Storm and thunder are manifestations of his wrath, and success in war and hunting, of his favour. Some of the tribes, as the Osages, have forms of prayer, in the use of which they are regular and earnest, particularly when starting on expeditions of hunting or war. Their prophets occasionally give out, that they have had visible communications with this Spirit, who has made himself sensibly manifest to them in the form of some bird or beast. They immediately paint their faces black, and observe great mystery on the occasion. Thence they derive their claims to prophecy, and to be treated with the deference due to medicine men.

Their notions of the condition of departed spirits are such as we might expect from their character and condition. In some distant region, of a southern temperature, they place the home of the worthy departed, in the country of the "brave and free" spirits, who pass to that land of game and good cheer over a bridge scarcely wider than a hair, suspended over a deep gulf. They who have hearts that are firm, feet that do not tremble, and unblenching countenances, that

is to say, who have been good warriors in life, pass steadily and safely over the bridge ; while the timid and trembling fall into the gulf below. They will sometimes talk of these matters with great earnestness and apparent conviction ; but, we believe, of all people that have been known on the earth their thoughts, hopes and fears dwell the least on any thing beyond this life. It appears inexplicable to them that any part of their moral conduct here can have any bearing upon their condition hereafter. Of course adult savages have too often been found hopeless subjects, upon whom to inculcate the pure and sublime truths of our gospel. The days of the Brainerds and Elliots are either gone by, or the southern and western savages are more hopeless subjects, than those of the north. They have certainly been found utterly destitute of the plastic docility of the Mexican and Peruvian Indians. Charlevoix gave, as a characteristic trait of the Canadian and western savages of his day, one that has been found equally applicable to to those of the present time. They listen with apparent docility and attention to our expositions of our religion, our faith and hopes, and assent to all ; admitting, that this may all be true in relation to people of our race. But it is a deeply rooted impression, that they also have their creating and tutelar " Great Spirit." They relate in turn their own fables, their own dim and visionary notions of a God and hereafter, and exact the same docility and complaisance to their creed, which they yielded to ours.—*Western Monthly Review, Cincinnati, August,* 1827.

The doctrines of a life beyond the grave was, among all the tribes of America, most deeply cherished, and sincerely believed. They had even formed a distinct idea of the region whither they hoped to be transported, and of the new and happier mode of existence, free from those wars, tortures and cruelties, which throw so dark a shade over their lot upon earth. Yet their conceptions on this subject were by no means exalted or spiritualised. They expected simply a prolongation of their present life and enjoyments, under more favorable circumstances, and with the same objects furnished in greater choice and abundance. In that brighter land the sun ever shines unclouded, the forests abound with deer, the lakes and rivers with fish ; benefits which are farther enhanced in their imagination by a faithful wife and dutiful children. They do not reach it, however, till after a journey of several months, and encountering various obstacles—a broad river, a chain of lofty mountains, and the attack of a furious dog. This favored country lies far in the west, at the remotest boundary of the earth, which is supposed to terminate in a steep precipice, with the ocean rolling beneath. Sometimes, in the too eager pursuit of game, the spirits fall over, and are converted into fishes. The local position of their paradise appears connected with certain obscure intimations received from their wandering neighbors of the Mississippi, the Rocky Mountains, and the distant shores of the Pacific. This system of belief labors under a great defect, inasmuch as it carcely connects felicity in the future world with virtuous conduct in the present. The one is held to be simply a continuation of the other ; and under this impression, the arms, ornaments, and every thing that has contributed to the welfare of the deceased, are interred along with him. This supposed assurance of a future life so conformable to their gross habits and

conceptions was found by the missionaries a serious obstacle, when they attempted to allure them by the hope of a destiny, purer and higher indeed, but less accordant with their untutored conceptions. Upon being told that in the promised world they would neither hunt, eat, drink, nor marry a wife, many of them declared that, far from endeavoring to reach such an abode, they would consider their arrival there as the greatest calamity. Mention is made of a Huron girl whom one of the Christian ministers was endeavoring to instruct, and whose first question was, what she would find to eat? The answer being "Nothing," she then asked what she would see? and being informed that she would see the Maker of Heaven and earth, she expressed herself much at a loss what she could have to say to him. Many not only rejected this destiny for themselves, but were indignant at the efforts made to decoy their children, after death, into so dreary and comfortless a region.—*Edinburgh Cabinet Library.*

The foregoing sentiments of the American Aborigines with respect to a future state, are given in beautiful verse by one of England's greatest poets.

Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
His soul, proud science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk, or milky-way;
Yet simple Nature to his hope has giv'n,
Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n;
Some safer world in depth of woods embrac'd,
Some happier island in the watry waste,
Where slaves once more their native land behold,
No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
To Be, contents his natural desire,
He asks no Angel's wing, no Seraph's fire;
But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company.—*Pope.*

Note 11, *page* 11.

MARRIAGE AND POLYGAMY.

It is an universal custom among the Indians, to marry as many wives as the warrior or hunter pleases. This is an affair accurately prescribed by custom. If a young hunter has been for a length of time very successful in hunting, like a rich Turk he is authorized by public opinion to take as many wives as he has proved himself able to maintain.

In all the Indian tribes, they have contrived to emulate the most polished and civilized people, in the extent of prostitution practised among them; and the degraded beings who practice these detestable vices, hold the same estimation. But taking into view the position of their females, so often alone in the solitude of the desert, the smallness of the numbers of their societies, and the diminished

influence of public opinion, that results from it, and that they have no other laws than vague opinion, and no religion that operates any moral restraint,—the state of morals, in regard to the intercourse between the sexes, is far better than could be reasonably expected. It is matter of admiration, that the vices of licentiousness do not prevail among them to a much greater extent, than among the whites. We have been astonished at witnessing so much decorum and restraint among them. We feel constrained, too, to place this decorum of intercourse among themselves, and that surprizing delicacy with which they deport themselves towards white females that fall into their power, to a more honorable source than the destitution of passions. They have always appeared to us to be precisely on a footing with untrained people of our own race, in regard to passions; and to differ only in a more chastened, and vigorous, and effectual restraint of them.

There are different standards of morals among them, as among the white nations. With some tribes sexual intercourse between the unmarried, and even adultery is a venial offence; and in others it is punished with mutilation, death, or an infliction, too horrible to name. The instance of a young squaw who is a mother before marriage, is a very uncommon occurrence; nor have we any faith in the vulgar opinion of their adroitness in procuring abortion.—*Western Monthly Review, Cincinnati, August*, 1827.

Among the Five Nations in New-York, polygamy was not usual; and when either of the parties became dissatisfied they separated without formality or ignominy to either, unless the parting was occasioned by some scandalous offence in one of them. In the event of such separation the children followed the mother. Colden found the reason for polygamy not existing among them to the same extent as with other Indians, in their republican institutions. Each tribe was in itself a pure republic, managing its own concerns, and uniting as a nation for the purposes of war, and carrying on their intercourse with the English and French, and also with the aborigines. They esteemed themselves superior by nature to the rest of mankind, and called themselves *Ongue-honwe, the men surpassing all others.* This was not a vain opinion held only by themselves, but this superiority was conceded to them by all the Indian tribes with whom they had any intercourse. The aboriginal nations round about them were their tributaries, and dared neither make war or peace without their consent. It was their custom every year or two to send two old chiefs to collect the accustomed tribute; and Lieut. Governor Colden, in his History of the Five Nations, (8vo., London, 1747, introd., p. 4,) says: "I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under while these two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket and dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority, as a Roman Dictator."

The Five Nations also practised upon the maxim formerly used by the Romans, to increase their strength, by encouraging the people of other nations to incorporate with them. In the early part of the last century they had for their allies,

the Tuscarora Indians, then inhabiting North Carolina, and we find that in 1713, they were about engaging in a war with the Flathead Indians, (then in Virginia and Carolina, and now west of the Rocky Mountains,) in support of their allies. To prevent this war the Council of the Province of New-York instructed their Indian agent to interfere,—but it was without success,—as it seems the commissioners of Indian affairs, June 11, 1713, wrote the governor, "that the Five Nations have returned the belt of wampum given them, not to enter into a war with the Flatheads; and desiring some principal men of Albany, may be sent to Onondaga, with presents, to hinder their entering into that war." The course recommended was pursued, and the war prevented; on which some few years after the Five Nations invited the Tuscaroras to emigrate to New-York, and become united with their nation, which they did, making the Sixth Nation, and they now form a very large and important part of the remnant of the celebrated "Six Nations." The Tuscaroras continued to hold the land on which they were originally settled in North Carolina, until a recent period, when they sold it, and divided the proceeds equally among the members of the tribe. They are now cultivators of the soil, in Niagara county, New-York, and many of them in prosperous circumstances.

This custom of adopting others into the confederacy, also existed among the families of the different tribes. Their prisoners were frequently thus received into the families of those who had lost one or more of its members in the war. And if a young man or boy was received in place of a husband who had been killed, all the children of the deceased called that boy *father;* so that one might sometimes hear a man of thirty years say, that such a boy of fifteen or twenty was his father. (*Colden's History of the Five Nations, 8vo., London, 1747, introd. p. 9.*)

This league of the Iroquois or Five Nations, is the most interesting portion of Indian history, and affords an example worthy of imitation in civilized states. In them we see several weak and scattered tribes, who remaining in their independent state, would soon have been destroyed by their more powerful neighbors, had the wisdom to form a permanent league, and to preserve it notwithstanding all the jealousies incident to their condition, without a single rupture. And not only so, we also find them, when reduced in numbers by wars and other causes, below what they deemed necessary for their safety, inviting and receiving into their league another tribe, which they selected from a position so far removed from their own residence, and their usual course of warlike expeditions, that there were no bad feelings to be overcome by the one in making, or the other in accepting the offer; and they had the address to induce this new tribe, the Tuscaroras, to leave their old habitations in a more genial clime, and to come and unite with them in western New-York. It was by this exercise of sound wisdom, that the Iroquois notwithstanding their residence near, and continual intercourse with the white men, preserved their nation even down to our day, while other, and even more numerous individual tribes have wasted away, and nothing but their names remain.

It was the Iroquois, who, sensible of the benefits resulting from their own

league, as early as 1752, called the attention of the commissioners of Indian affairs to the necessity of an union between the British Colonies, for their defence against the French. And their advice led to the Congress of 1754, at Albany, the most celebrated and important held previous to the revolution; and which was convened by an order of the Lords of Trade, in which they directed that the chiefs of the Six Nations should be consulted, in order to concert a scheme for the common defence. (*A History of British Dominions in North America*, 8*vo.*, *London*, 1772.) The discussions in that Congress, and the plans of union there proposed, ultimately led to the adoption of our present form of government.

The western part of the State of New-York, as early as 1669, was the scene of one of those *El Dorado* expeditions which throw a cast of romance over many of our early annals, by a party of twenty-three Spaniards who arrived from New-Orleans, by way of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Alleghany Rivers, and also by a French party from a colony then seated near the present town of Pompey,—all of whom were killed by the Iroquois, in consequence of the jealousies which they excited in the minds of the Indians in reference to the designs of each other. They were in search of "*a northern lake, the bottom of which they believed to be covered with silver.*" Such things may now appear to us improbable, but those who are conversant with the history of the Spanish adventures during the early settlements of America, and the extravagant and wearisome expeditions they made, led on by the fables of the *El Dorado*, which they expected to find realized in this western hemisphere;—and the horrible amount of crime, and loss of human life, with which their pursuits after the precious metals were attended;—or who have read the Journal of the Voyage of De Acugna, and of Grillet and Bechamel, in South America, and Southey's account of the expedition of Orsua, and the crimes of Aguirre, will not want faith in this statement.*

Note 12, *page* 12.

LONG.

This word is evidently not of Indian origin, nor does it seem to have been even used by the Indians themselves, no traces being found of it in any vocabulary of their language. In all prabability it was a word in common use among the English of that day, although it has now become entirely obsolete. It is difficult to ascertain its meaning as here applied. Some have supposed this *Long* to be the Bunch or Tuft of hair worn on the top of the head by certain tribes, as a

* An account of this expedition forms part of an Essay on the Ancient History of Western New-York, embracing a period from 1670, extending back to one anterior to Hudson's discovery of New-York, containing numerous facts showing the existence of a civilized settlement, in this region,—prepared by the Editor, and which he may hereafter give to the world, if the public taste should seem to warrant it.

proof that they were not afraid to meet the enemy, as well as that they had never been made captives in war, since the practice of scalping was general among them. Others think it must have been a chain of ornaments suspended from the hair, down the back.

Note 13, *page* 14.

The distance by the Hudson River from New York to Albany or Fort Orange, as it was formerly called by the Dutch, is 145 miles. This river is one of the most interesting water courses on the face of the globe ; and as a navigable outlet, to the vast and fertile regions of the west, has high claims to attention. It is formed of two principal branches, the Hudson proper and the Mohawk.

Below the head of the tide, the mean breadth of the river does not reach a a mile. In all its length, above New York island, it is bordered by a steep acclivity, in many places mountainous. It affords rapidly varying landscapes. The channel appears an interminable vista, bounded, on the western shore by walls of primitive rock, and on the east, by a highly cultivated country, rising boldly from the brink. This contrast continues to the Highlands ; where enormous mountain peaks rise suddenly on both sides, to twelve hundred or fifteen hundred feet, through which the channel seems to have been rifted by some almost inconceivable force. It presents the only known instance, except that of the St. Lawrence, in which the ocean tides pass the primitive mountain chain, carrying depth for the largest vessels. This depth is found for one hundred and twenty miles—five miles above the city of Hudson. North of this point, sloops pass to Troy, and thence through the lock of the dam to Waterford. Above the Highlands, the banks continue bold, rocky, and often precipitous, though not mountainous. The farms and villages hang upon the cliffs, or rise by stages from the waters' edge. In a few places, bottoms occur ; but they are rare and of limited extent.—*Gordon's New-York.*

Note 14, *page* 20.

Connected with the *fish* and *fishing* in the harbor of New-York, we have a curious fact in Natural History, narrated by at least two officers of the British government, who were here during the early part of the Revolutionary War, and which is also still existing in the memory of some of our oldest inhabitants. At the commencement of the revolution the harbor of New-York abounded in fish, among which were lobsters of a large size, which all at once disappeared, immediately after the cannonading in the battle of Long Island, and the taking possession of New-York by the British army. William Eddis, Esq., in his highly interesting " Letters from America, historical and descriptive ; comprising occurrences from 1769 to 1777, inclusive," (8vo., *London*, 1792, *page* 426,) in describing his residence in the city of New-York, shortly before embarking for

England, after having been obliged to leave his post as Surveyor of the Customs at Annapolis, in Maryland, by reason of his adherence to the Crown, mentions this fact in the following manner: "Lobsters of a prodigious size, were, till of late, caught in vast numbers, but it is a fact, surprising as it may appear, that, since the late incessant cannonading, they have entirely forsaken the coast, not one having been taken, or seen, since the commencement of hostilities."

Lieut. Aubury, who was captured with Burgoyne's army, and came to the city of New-York, after his exchange, in 1781, in his "Travels through the interior parts of America," (2 vols., 8vo., *London*, 1791, vol. 2, *page* 471,) states the same fact in equally explicit language. This is no matter of the imagination, the writer has also received the same as fact, from some old people who knew this vicinity in the early part of the revolution. They say, that forty-five years ago no lobsters were to be found south of Hellgate, notwithstanding their previous great abundance throughout the East River. Since that period these fish have gradually been regaining their old haunts; about twenty-five years ago they were taken in the neighborhood of Kipp's Bay, and within the last four or five years were found to have reached the harbor of New-York. During the last three years large numbers of them have been taken on a spit of sand which extends in a circular direction from near the Brooklyn shore towards New-York, a short distance south of the Fulton ferry, which appears to be their favorite locality; and during this latter period, at the proper times, it was not unusual to see ten or a dozen boats engaged in taking that favorite shellfish, which six years before was not to be found in our waters.

What we have gained in respect to lobsters we have lost in another and favorite fish, the shad. From a manuscript account of the shad fishery at the Narrows on Long Island, kept by the owner of the most extensive fishery at that place, showing the number of fish caught during each season, from 1789 to a recent date, and also the largest number taken in one day during each season, it appears that the whole number now caught, during the whole season, is scarcely equal to the largest number taken in some one single day fifty years ago.

At the time when Lieut. Aubury wrote his account of New-York, and its neighborhood, in October, 1781, Brooklyn, now a city of near fifty thousand inhabitants, was then only noted for its "excellent tavern, where parties are made to go and eat fish;"—it was in our author's language, "a scattered village, consisting of a few houses,"—which was strictly true, for there were not then more than fifty houses in the bounds of the present city. Aubury states that, "at a small distance from the town are considerable heights, commanding the city of New-York; on these is erected a strong regular fort, with four bastions." This strong fort, then at a small distance from the town, was on a site now in the midst of the thick settled portion of the city, with its centre on Pierrepont-street and Henry-street. What a change has occurred here in sixty-four years, a period during which many of the cities of the Old World have scarcely experienced any alteration.

Note 15, *page* 21.

THE following extract is corroborative of the truth of the foregoing remark:

"On my return passage from Europe to America, in May, 1840, on board the packet-ship Philadelphia, commanded by the good Captain Morgan. During the whole of the day on the evening of which we made land, we were most anxiously expecting a sight of *terra-firma* once more. To our no small joy, some time after dark, we espied the revolving light that is placed upon the high-lands of Neversink. And strange to relate, our olfactory organs were the second sense, that intimated to us our near approach to land. The fragrance of blooming flowers, green meadows, and budding vegetation of every kind, was truly delicious, and brought to our recollections the odoriferous sensation experienced on entering a hot-house in winter. An Italian gentleman, one of the passengers, who had heard much of America, and was now for the first time about visiting it, on experiencing this sensation, exclaimed in the soft poetical language of his country, '*Bellissimo, bellissimo, tre bellissimo Italiá nuôvo!*'

"This was no doubt, in a considerable degree, caused by the great change in the temperature of the atmosphere. The thermometer during the whole voyage having never reached a higher point than 60, but often fell much lower; whereas now it had risen to 88 with the breeze coming from land, which made us more sensible to impressions, particularly of this kind."—*W. Gowans' Western Memorabilia*

Note 16, *page* 22.

THAT this genuine, open hearted hospitality, is still practiced among the pioneers of the Far West, can be fully attested by every one who has been among them.

The following extract may be taken as an instance, which is only one out of many that could be produced.

"When, on a pedestrian journey through the new states and territories of the west I got into a dreary and comparatively unsettled part of the country. I travelled one day about fifty miles; my route lay through a thickly wooded district, and I was compelled to ford a creek or small river twelve or fourteen times, which traversed nearly the whole of the path in a serpentine manner.

"During this day I passed only two or three log-cabins, situated in little openings in this vast wilderness. Night came on after I had passed the last about ten miles, and I knew not how far I should have to travel before falling in with another. This was an uncomfortable situation however. Either to return or to remain stationary I knew would not do, so I proceeded onward through the gloomy, thick solitary woods. The moon was clear and her light inspired me with some confidence, but the further I advanced the more alarmed I became lest I should fall in with some of the lords of the forest, such as Indians, bears, wolves, &c. In this state of mind I jogged on for some time, till near the hour of ten, when I beheld a light shining through among the trees. I descried this

pleasing spectacle I am sure with as much heartfelt delight as ever did ship-wrecked mariner on beholding land. I made up to this light as fast as my wearied limbs and swollen feet would carry me, (for my feet had swollen greatly on account of being wet during the whole of the day.) This light proceeded from one of those small log-cabins situated in a little open spot surrounded with tall heavy timber—I knocked at the door and was answered by a young woman—I asked for admission, which was cherfully granted—I stated to her my condition, where from, &c., and requested permission to remain all night under her roof. She said it was particularly unfortunate as it might be improper for her to harbour me through the night, as she was all alone with the exception of her two little children, her husband having gone back many miles to look out for a new settlement on the borders of some prairie.

"I asked her what distance it was to the next opening, that is to say, cabin or house; she replied about eight miles. On hearing this I again renewed my supplications to be permitted to remain all night. At this second request the true nature of woman prevailed; she remarked it would be hard indeed to refuse shelter (situated even as she was) to one apparently so much fatigued and worn out. She immediately prepared supper for me, which consisted of mush, milk, fried bacon, and bread made from Indian corn. Being excessively fatigued I had scarcely tasted of her bounty when sleep overtaking me I fell into a deep slumber. I know not how long I had been in this state when she awoke me and requested me to go to bed, the only one in the cabin. I learned afterwards, that she had betaken herself to one less soft, and more humble, the floor. In the morning I awoke quite refreshed and breakfasted on the humble fare she had prepared. On my departure she would accept of no compensation whatever, either for the entertainment I had received or the inconvenience that I had put her to.

"Good and kind hearted woman; for this act of Samaritan hospitality, I am, and I hope ever will continue grateful, and I take especial pleasure in recording an act so purely benevolent, and I fear of but rare occurrence amongst those who esteem themselves much more polished members of society.

"I related this incident to an American poet,—next time I saw him he had the whole story turned into verse, entitled, '*The Beauty of Benevolence.*'"—*W. Gowans' Western Memorabilia.*

Note 17, *page* 22.

THE war between the English and Dutch breaking out about this time, (1664,) King Charles resolved to dispossess the Dutch of their settlements upon Hudson's River. This part of the country was first discovered by Captain Hudson, an Englishman, who sold it to the Dutch about the year 1608; but doing it without the king's license it was reckoned invalid; the English who sailed from Holland to the West Indies, and settled at Plymouth, designed to have taken possession of those parts, but the commander of the ship being a Dutchman, and bribed by

some of his countrymen, landed them further to the north. The Dutch took possession of the country soon after, and began a plantation in the year 1623, but were driven thence by Sir Samuel Argall, Governor of Virginia; they then applied to King James, who being a slothful prince, gave them leave to build some cottages for the convenience of their ships touching there for fresh water, in their passage to and from Brazil: under this pretence they built the city of New-Amsterdam, in an island called Manhanatoes at the mouth of Hudson's River, and a fort about eighty miles up the river, which they called Orange Fort; from whence they traded with the Indians overland as far as Quebec. Whether the English or the Dutch had the best title to this part of the country is of no great importance now, since it was taken from them in time of war, and yielded up by the peace. 'Tis plain however, that King Charles the Second looked upon them as intruders, because on the 12th of March, this year, he made a grant of the whole country called Nova Belgia to his brother the Duke of York, who gave it the name of New-York, and sent a squadron of men-of-war, with some land forces, under the command of Sir Robert Carr, to reduce it. Sir Robert arrived there in the latter end of the year 1664, landed 3,000 men upon Mahanatoes Island, and marched directly to New-Amsterdam; the governor of the town was an old soldier that had lost his leg in the service of the states, but being surprised at the unexpected attack of a formidable enemy he was prevailed upon by the inhabitants to surrender. Thus this place fell into the hands of the English. 'Twas handsomely built by the Dutch, of brick and stone covered with red and black tile, and the land being high it affords an agreeable prospect at a distance. Above half the Dutch inhabitants remained, and took the oath of allegiance to the king, the rest had liberty to remove with their effects.

Thirteen days after the surrender of New Amsterdam a detachment was sent under Colonel Nichols to reduce Orange Fort, which he easily accomplished, and called it New-Albany, the Duke of York's Scotch title, and so the whole country fell into the hands of the English.—*Oldmixon's British Empire in America, quoted by Neal in his History of New-England.*

THE END.

GOWANS'

BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA.

2

"Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost."
ST. JOHN.

"There is, perhaps, no nation in which it is so necessary, as in our own, to assemble, from time to time, the small tracts and fugitive pieces, which are occasionally published; for, besides the general subjects of enquiry, which are cultivated by us, in common with every other learned nation, our constitution in church and state naturally gives birth to a multitude of performances, which would either not have been written, or could not have been made publick in any other place."
S. JOHNSON.



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Fir'd at the sound, my genius spreads her wing,
And flies where Britain courts the Western spring;
Where laws extend that scorn Arcadian pride,
And brighter streams than fam'd Hydaspis glide.
There all around the gentlest breezes stray,
There gentle music melts on ev'ry spray;
Creation's mildest charms are there combin'd;
Extremes are only in the master's mind!—Goldsmith.

For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive, and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass. When thou hast eaten and art full, then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee.....*Deuteronomy* 8: 7, 8.



NEW YORK:
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2

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A part will appear about once in every six months, or oftener, if the public taste demand it; each part forming an entire work, either an original production, or a reprint of some valuable, and at the same time scarce tract. From eight to twelve parts will form a handsome octavo volume, which the publisher is well assured, will be esteemed entitled to a high rank in every collection of American history and literature.

Should reasonable encouragement be given, the whole collection may in the course of no long period of time become not less voluminous, and quite as valuable to the student in American history, as the celebrated Harleian Miscellany is now to the student and lover of British historical antiquities.

W. GOWANS, *Publisher.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE prevalent desire for authentic information on the early history of our country, encourages the publisher to endeavor to gratify such taste, by reprinting this curious and rare little Book, only three copies of which are, as far as he is informed, in these States. Though small, it throws light on the domestic manners and social habits of the people of the city of New York, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, not to be derived from larger and purely historical works.

Being curious to know the antecedents of its author, and having learned incidentally that he was a graduate of Cambridge, I addressed the authorities of that University and received, in answer, the following polite note, for which I beg to return my very sincere acknowledgments.

"TRINITY COLL. CAMBRIDGE.
"13 Oct. 1859.

"Dear Sir:

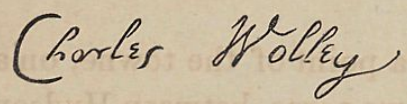
"The vice chancellor this day put into my hands your letter of the 24 Sept.

"I am sorry to say I can give no information as to the parentage of Charles Wolley. I have called upon the master of Emmanuel College and inspected the admission book in his custody. The information is very slight, it is as follows:

"'Ch. Wolley of Linc. admitted sizar 13 June, 1670.'

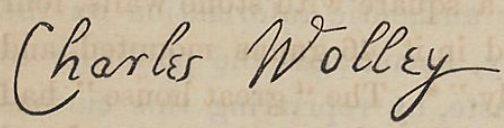
"The admission does not state whether he was born in the city of Lincoln or merely in the county: it does not mention Ch. W.'s father's name, or his place of education.

"The matriculation and degree books are in my custody:



Handwriting of B. A. degree.

"Charles Wolley was matriculated a sizar of Emm. Coll. on the 9 July, 1670.



Handwriting in M. A. degree.

"He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in January, 1673-4, and his degree of Master of Arts in July, 1677.

"I send you tracings of his signature at both his degrees.

"Yours truly,

"JOSEPH ROMILLY

"E. B. O'Callaghan, Esq. (Registrary of the Univ^{ty})."

The year after he graduated Mr. WOLLEY came to New York. At the period referred to in his Journal, the province is described as "poore, unsettled and almost without trade;" the city was, "small in size and scanty in population; its buildings mostly wood; some few of stone and brick; 10 or 15 ships, of about 100 tons burthen each, frequented the port in a year; four of these being New York built." The annual imports were valued at £50,000, or $250,000; a trader worth $2500 to $5000 was "accompted a good substantial merchant; a planter whose moveables were valued at half that sum was esteemed rich. Ministers were scarce and Religions many."* The Church of England; the Reformed Dutch church; French Calvinists; Lutherans;

* N. Y. Col. Doc. iii., 261.

Roman Catholics; Quakers, both "singing and ranting;" Sabatarians and Anti-sabatarians; Anabaptists; Independents and Jews, all were represented. In short some of all sorts of opinions, and some of none at all, helped in those, as in these, days to compose the heterogeneous population of the metropolis.

Fort James was "seated upon a point of the towne, on a plot of ground containing about two acres, between Hudson River and y^e^ Sound; it was a square with stone walls, four bastions almost regular, and in it 46 gunns mounted, and stores for service accordingly." * The "great house" had been covered with Dutch tiles; but these were removed and the roof covered with shingles, "by reason the Tyles were usually broken when the gunns were fired." An hospital, or officers' quarters, stood in the vicinity, between Stone and Bridge streets.

The garrison of the Fort consisted of

1 Captain (gov. Andros,) whose pay was 8s. stg. per day.

2 Lieuts. { Anthy Brockholes / Christopher Bellop } pay 4s. per day.

1 Ensign (Cæsar Knapton) pay 3s.

3 Sergeants @ 1s. 6 a day; 4 Corporals and 2 drummers @ 1s. a day; 100 privates @ 8d. per day; 1 master gunner @ 2s.; 4 matrosses @ 1s.; 1 Chirurgeon @ 2s.; 1 Storekeeper @ 2s. and "A Chaplaine" @ 6s. per day.

The "Chaplaine" here referred to was the Rev. CHARLES WOLLEY; his salary amounted to £121. 6s. 8d sterling, or about $600 a year. †

From his Journal we are led to conclude that he was a gentleman of learning and observation; social of habit and charitable in feeling. On his departure from this

*N. Y. Col. Doc. iii., 260. †Ibid, 220.

country, Sir Edmund Andros bore testimony to his proper deportment whilst here, in the following words:

"A Certificate to Mr. Charles Wolley to goe for England in the Hopewell.

"S^{r} Edmund Andros Kn^{t} &c. Whereas Mr. Charles Wolley (a Minister of the church of England) came over into these parts in the Month of August 1678 and hath officiated accordingly as Chaplaine under his Royall Highnesse during the time of his abode here, Now upon Applicacon for leave to returne for England in order to some promocōn in the church to which hee is presented, hee having liberty to proceede on his voyage. These are to certify the above and that the s^{d} Mr. Wolley hath in his place comported himself unblameable in his Life and conversacōn. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and Seale of the province in New York this 15th day of July in the 32th yeare of his Matyes Raigne. Annoq Dominj 1680.

"Examined by mee M. N. Secr." *

Mr. Wolley returned to England in a ship commanded by George Heathcote, a Quaker, some particulars of whom will be found in Note 47, at the end of this volume. He took with him as curiosities, "a Grey squirrel, a Parrot, and a Raccoon," and if any desire be felt respecting the subsequent fortunes of these favorites, we are pleased to be able to say, that the same will be found fully satisfied on referring to the pages of the Journal.

We next find our author at Alford in Lincolnshire. Hoping to learn something further of his history, I wrote to the Rector of that church, who in return was so obliging as to take a great deal of trouble to obtain the requisite informa-

* N. Y. Gen. Entries, xxxii: 93.

tion, and communicated the result in the following letter:

"ALFORD VICARAGE
"Lincolnshire,
"September 17, 1859.

"Dear Sir:

"It would have given me great pleasure could I have assisted you in your enquiries respecting the Rev. CHARLES WOLLEY, but I am afraid I shall not be able to do so. As our registers at Alford begin within five years of the oldest in England I thought until your enquiry came to me that this parish might hold its head high in such lore. But upon searching them I found a great gap including the whole time you are enquiring about and extending from 1657 to 1732. I immediately wrote off to an American gentleman (one of the Hutchinson family) who searched them last year; and this morning his answer arrived but threw no light upon the missing portion. In the mean time I enquired of the old people who might be supposed familiar with traditionary names but met with no success.

"One more source is open to me, the old parochial (not ecclesiastical) books which I will examine before I close this. If this fails me I see not in what way I can be of service.

"I am Dear Sir
"Yours very truly,
"GEORGE JEANS.

"E. B. O'Callaghan, Esq^r.

"P. S. Sept. 21. The parish books begin in 1701, but there is no mention of the name. There is just a possibility it may occur in the records of the Governors of the Grammar School, which I will examine.

"Sept. 29. I regret to say I have examined the ar-

chives of the Governors of the Grammar School and cannot find the name through all the years you gave me.

G. J."

Still unwilling to abandon my search until all probable sources of information had been exhausted, I applied to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, to whose diocese, it appeared by the admission book of Emmanuel College, Mr. WOLLEY belonged, requesting that I might be furnished by his Lordship's orders, with transcripts of any data the records of the diocese might supply on the subject of my enquiry. The following is an extract from the answer to that application:

"THE PALACE, Lincoln,
"Jan'y 19, 1860.

"Dear Sir:

"I have had the Books and Records of this Registry searched, but I have been unable to find even the Name of the Rev. Chas. Wolley, in this Diocese, and am strongly inclined to think that he never held a Benefice in it, otherwise the Register Books would shew it. From your observation, that he was removed "for his unprofitableness," I feel quite sure it was not any Benefice; no beneficed Clergyman could be removed from his Benefice on any such ground, nor a Curate either, if he objected and had not committed any crime. * * * * * * * Of course you will understand that we have found no Record of his Ordination either, and therefore concluded it is a mistake altogether. He might be employed temporarily as a Curate at Alford, without being licensed, and then no record of it would be made. * * * * *

"I am Dear Sir

"Yours faithfully,

"WILLIAM MOSS."

"E. B. O'Callaghan, Esq^r.

The close of Mr. WOLLEY'S career is thus shrouded in obscurity. His ministry appears by his own acknowledgment, not to have abounded in fruit; for, apologizing both for publishing, and for having delayed the publication of, his Journal, he says, that he was "taken off, from the proper studies and offices of his Function, for his unprofitableness;" and therefore concluded, when he could not do "what he ought," to do "what he could," and accordingly published this Journal.

It is evident, from various passages in these Reminiscences, that his sojourn in this country left a pleasing impression on Mr. WOLLEY'S mind. "New York," he says, "is a place of as sweet and agreeable air as ever I breathed in, and the inhabitants, both English and Dutch, very civil and courteous, as I may speak by experience, amongst whom I have often wished myself and my family."

I have endeavored to ascertain whether he carried out this wish and returned to this country. The name is found in our archives, posterior to the original publication of this Journal;* and Mr. Valentine states that a Charles Wooley was admitted a freeman of New York in 1702.† Whether or not, this was the former Chaplain of Fort James and Sojourner at Alford, I must leave to others to determine.

With a view to throw additional light on some passages of the Text, and further to illustrate the Men and Manners of Days which have long passed away, and all trace whereof is buried in ancient MSS. and dust-covered Tomes, Notes, historical and biographical, have been added to the Journal. In the preparation of these, every care has been taken to consult the best authorities within reach, and to

*N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., 622; N. Y. Col. Doc., iv: 934.

†Valentine's Hist. of the City of New York, 377.

state the authority consulted, in order that every one may have the means of reëxamining the points selected for illustration, if he feel so inclined. It is to be hoped that the pains and labor thus bestowed, will prove of profit to others and merit general approbation.

A two Years

JOURNAL

IN

New-York:

And part of its

TERRITORIES

IN

AMERICA.

By *C. W.* A. M.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Wyat*, at the *Roſe* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard: and *Eben Tracy*, at the three *Bibles* on *London-Bridge*. MDCCI.

TO THE READER.

The materials of this Journal have laid by me several years expecting that some Landlooper or other in those parts would have done it more methodically, but neither hearing nor reading of any such as yet, and I being taken off from the proper Studies and Offices of my Function, for my unprofitableness, I concluded, that when I could not do what I ought, I ought to do what I could, which I shall further endeavour in a second Part: in the mean while, adieu.

A

TWO YEARS JOURNAL

IN

NEW YORK, &C.

In the year 1678, May the 27, we set sail from old England for New-York in America, in the Merchants Ship called the Blossom, Richard Martain of New-England Master. (See Note 1.) We had on board Sir Edmund Andros, (see Note 2,) Governor of New-York, Merchants and Factors, Mr. William Pinhorne, (see Note 3,) Mr. James Graham, (see Note 4,) Mr. John White, Mr. John West (see Note 5,) and others; the 7th of August following we arriv'd safe at New-York.

The City of New-York, by Dr. Heylin (see Note 6,) and other Cosmographers, is call'd New-Amsterdam, and the Country New-Netherlands, being first inhabited by a Colony of Dutch; but as first discover'd by the English it was claim'd to the Crown of England by Colonel Nichols, in the year 1665, (see Note 7,) then sent over Governor; to whom it was surrendred by the Dutch upon Articles; it being a fundamental Point consented unto by all Nations, That the first discovery of a Country inhabited by Infidels, gives a right and Dominion of that Country to the Prince in whose Service and Employment the discoverers

were sent; thus the Spaniard claims the West-Indies; the Portugals Brasile; and thus the English those Northern parts of America; (see Note 8,) for Sebastian Cabot (see Note 9,) employed by K. Hen. 7th, was the first discoverer of those parts, and in his name took Possession, which his Royal Successors have held and continu'd ever since: Therefore they are of the Crown of England, and as such they are accounted by that excellent Lawyer Sir John Vaughan: (see Note 10,) So this particular Province being granted to his then Royal-Highness the D. of York, by Letters Patents from King Charles the II. was from his title and Propriety call'd New-York.

The Fort and Garrison of this place lieth in the degree of 40th and 20 minutes of northern Latitude, (see Note 11,) as was observ'd and taken by Mr. Andrew Norwood, Son of the Famous Mathematician of that name, (see Note 12,) and by Mr. Philip Wells, (see Note 13,) and Van Cortland Junior, Robert Rider and Jacobus Stephens, the seventh of July 1679, with whom I was well acquainted, and at that time present with them.

The Temperature of the Climate.

By the Latitude above observ'd, New-York lieth 10 Degrees more to the Southward than Old England; by which difference according to Philosophy it should be the hotter Climate, but on the contrary, to speak feelingly, I found it in the Winter Season rather colder for the most part: the reason of which may be the same with that which

Sir Henry Wotton (see Note 14,) gives for the coldness of Venice, as he observ'd from the experience of fourteen years Embassie, viz. Though Venice be seated in the very middle point, between the Equinoctial and the northern Pole, at 45 degrees precisely, or there abouts, of Latitude, yet their winters are for the most part sharper than ours in England, though about six degrees less of Elevation, which he imputed to its vicinity or nigh Situation to the chilly tops of the Alps, for Winds as well as Waters are tainted and infected in their passage. New-York in like manner is adjacent to and almost encompass'd with an hilly, woody Country, full of Lakes and great Vallies, which receptacles are the Nurseries, Forges and Bellows of the Air, which they first suck in and contract, then discharge and ventilate with a fiercer dilatation. The huge lake of Canada, which lies to the northward of New-York, is supposed to be the most probable place for dispersing the cold Northwest-winds which alter the nature of this Climate, insomuch that a thick winter Coat there is commonly called a Northwestern: So that the Consequence which Men make in common discourse from the Degree of a place to the temper of it, is indeed very deceivable, without a due regard to other circumstances; for as I have read in the Philosophical Transactions, the order of the seasons of the year is quite inverted under the torrid Zone, for whereas it should be then Summer when the Sun is near, and Winter when the Sun is farther of; under the

torrid Zone it's never less hot than when the Sun is nearest; nor more hot than when the Sun is farthest off; so that to the people who live between the Equinoctial and the Tropicks, Summer begins about Christmas, and their Winter about St. John's day, the reason whereof is that when the Sun is directly over their heads, it raises abundance of Vapours, and draws them so high that they are presently converted into water by the coldness of the Air; whence it comes to pass that then it rains continually, which does repress the Air; but when the Sun is farther off there falls no more Rain, and so the heat becomes insupportable; but besides these Observations and Philosophical Solutions, give me leave to offer one Consideration to the Inhabitants of the Northern parts of England, viz. Whether they have not taken notice for the several years past of some alteration in the Seasons of the year; that the Winters have been earlier, colder and longer, and the Summers shorter than formerly within their own memories; for which I think I may appeal to the Gardeners. Especially as to the fruit of the Vine, no Grapes having come to their maturity or perfection in the same Gardens they used to do: Now to what reasons shall we impute these, shall we say in the words of that Scribe of the Law, Esdras, The world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old, for look how much the world shall be weaker through age? Or shall we apologize with Dr. Hakewell, (see Note 15,) in his Power and Providence in the Government of the World? For my part I humbly submit to the

Virtuoso's of Natural and Divine Philosophy; rather than embarass and envelop my self in prying within the Curtains of the Primitive Chaos, or the Womb of the Creation, or the dark Orb of Futurities.

Of the Air.

It's a Climate of a Sweet and wholesome breath, free from those annoyances which are commonly ascribed by Naturalists for the insalubrity of any Country, viz. South or South-east Winds, many stagnant Waters, lowness of shoars, inconstancy of Weather, and the excessive heat of the Summer; the extremity of which is gently refresh'd, fann'd and allay'd by constant breezes from the Sea; it does not welcome its Guests and Strangers with the seasoning distempers of Fevers and Fluxes, like Virginia, Maryland, and other Plantations, nature kindly drains and purgeth it by Fontanels and Issues of running waters in its irriguous Valleys, and shelters it with the umbrella's of all sorts of Trees from pernicious Lakes; which Trees and Plants do undoubtedly, tho' insensibly suck in and digest into their own growth and composition, those subterraneous Particles and Exhalations, which otherwise wou'd be attracted by the heat of the Sun and so become matter for infectious Clouds and malign Atmospheres, and tho we cannot rely upon these causes as permanent and continuing, for the longer and the more any Country is peopled, the more unhealthful it may prove, by

reason of Jaques, Dunghills and other excrementitious stagnations, which offend and annoy the bodies of Men, by incorporating with, and infecting the circumambient Air, but these inconveniencies can scarce be suppos'd to happen within our age, for the very settling and inhabiting a new Country, which is commonly done by destroying its Wood, and that by Fire (as in those parts I describe) does help to purifie and refine the Air; an experiment and remedy formerly us'd in Greece and other Nations, in the time of Plague or any common infection. To conclude this Chapter, I my self, a person seemingly of a weakly Stamen and a valetudinary Constitution, was not in the least indispos'd in that Climate, during my residence there, the space of three years: This account and description of the place, I recommend as a fair encouragement, to all who are inclined to Travel; to which I shall subjoin other inviting Advantages and Curiosities in their proper places.

Of the Inhabitants. And first of the Indians or Natives.

There are a clan of highflown Religionists, who stile the Indians the Populus Terræ, and look upon them as a reprobate despicable sort of creatures: But making the allowances for their invincible ignorance, as to a reveal'd Education, I should rather call them the Terræ filii: For otherwise I see no difference betwixt them and the rest of the Noble Animals. They are stately and well proportioned in Symmetry through the whole Oeco-

nomy of their bodies, so that I cannot say I observed any natural deformity in any of them; which probably may be owing to their way of nurturing their new born Infants: which is thus, as soon as a Woman is delivered, she retires into the Wood for a burden or bundle of sticks, which she takes upon her back to strengthen her; the Children they Swaddle upon a Board, which they hang about their heads, and so carry them for a year together, or till they can go, this I had confirm'd to me, by my friend Mr. William Asfordby, (see Note 16,) who lived in those parts sixteen years, and had for his Neighbour one Harman the Indian in Marble-Town, in the County of Ulster, formerly called Sopus, (see Note 17,) in the Province of New-York, whose Squaw or Wife us'd this way to her self and Children: In nursing their Children, the Mother abhors that unnatural and Costly Pride of suckling them with other Breasts, whilst her own are sufficient for that affectionate service; their hardiness and facility in bringing forth is generally such as neither requires the nice attendance of Nursekeepers, nor the art of a dextrous Lucina, being more like the Hebrew Women than the native Ægyptians, delivered before the Midwife can come to them; like that Irish Woman of whom Dr. Harvy (see Note 18,) de generatione Animalium, Cap. de partu, Page 276, reports from the mouth of the Lord Carew, Earl of Totness and Lord President of Munster, (see Note 19,) who though big with Child accompanied her Husband in the Camp, marching from place to

place, but by reason of a sudden flood which hindered their Armies march for one hour, the Woman's pains coming upon her, she withdrew her-self to a thicket of Shrubs, and there alone brought forth Twins, both which she brought down to the River and wash'd both herself and them, wrapping them up in a course and Irish Mantle, marches with them at her back, the same day barefoot and barelegged twelve Miles, without any prejudice to herself or them. The next day after, the Lord Deputy Montjoy, (see Note 20,) who at that time commanded the Army against the Spaniard, who had besieged Kinsale, with the Lord Carew, stood God-fathers for the Children; but I cannot say of them as it is related of the Queen of Navarre, Mother to Henry of France, called the Great, who sung a French Song in the time of his Birth, seeming to show other Women, that it is possible to be brought to bed without crying out.

As to their Stature, most of them are between five or six foot high, straight bodied, strongly composed, in complexion perfect Adamites; of a clayish colour, the Hair of their Heads generally black, lank and long, hanging down. And I have been several times amongst them, and could never observe any one shap'd either in redundance or defect, deformed or mishapen. They preserve their Skins smooth by anointing them with the Oyl of Fishes, the fat of Eagles, and the grease of Rackoons, which they hold in the Summer the best Antidote to keep their skins from blistering by the scorching Sun, their best Armour against

the Musketto's; the surest expeller of the hairy Excrement, and stopper of the Pores of their Bodies against the Winter's cold, their Hair being naturally black, they make it more so, by oyling, dying and dayly dressing, yet though they be very curious about the Hair of their Heads, yet they will not endure any upon their Chins, where it no sooner grows but they take it out by the Roots, counting it a spurious and opprobrious excrement: Insomuch, that the Aberginians (see Note 21,) or Northern Indians in New-England, call him an English-man's Bastard, that hath but the appearance of a Beard; so that I leave it to the other Sex:

Judicat ex mento non mente puella maritum.

Of their Apparel.

Notwithstanding the heat of parching Summers, and the searching cold of piercing Winters, and the tempestuous dashings of driving Rains, their ordinary habit is a pair of Indian Breeches, like Adam's Apron to cover that which modesty commands to be hid, which is a piece of Cloth about a yard and a half long, put between their groins, tied with a Snake's Skin about their middle, and hanging down with a flap before, many of them wear skins about them in fashion of an Irish Mantle and of these some be Bears Skins and Rackoon Skins sewed or skuered together; but of late years, since they trade with the English and Dutch, they wear a sort of Blanket, which our

Merchants call Duffles, which is their Coat by day and covering by night, I have heard of some reasons given why they will not conform to our English Apparel, viz. because their Women cannot wash them when they are soiled, and their means will not reach to buy new, when they have done with their old, therefore they had rather go as they do, than be lowsie and make their bodies more tender by a new acquired habit, but they might be easily divested of these reasons, if they were brought to live in Houses and fix'd Habitations, as I shall shew hereafter. Though in their habit they seem to be careless and indifferent, yet they have an instinct of natural Pride, which appears in their circumstantial Ornaments, many of them wearing Pendants at their Ears, and Porcupine-quills through their Noses, impressing upon several parts of their bodies Portraictures of Beasts and Birds, so that were I to draw their Effigies it should be after the pattern of the Ancient Britains, called Picts from painting, and Britains from a word of their own Language, Breeth, Painting or Staining, as Isidore writes, with whom Mr. Cambden (see Note 22,) concurs; though Dr. Skinner (see Note 23.) in his Etymologicon Onomasticon, a Bri. honor & Tain fluvius, Insula fluviis nobilis: But to leave these Authors in their own crictical ingenuity, I shall conclude this Chapter with a general Sentiment of such Customs that by these variety of Pictures depourtraicted in their Bodies; they are either ambitious to illustrate and set off their natural Symmetry, or to blazon their

Heraldy, which a certain Author calls Macculoso Nobilitas: Or else to render them terrible and formidable to all Strangers: or if we may conjecture out of that Rabbinical Critick the Oxford Gregory upon Cain's Thau, that according to the natural Magicians and Cabbalists, Adam and the rest of mankind in his right, had marks imprinted upon them by the finger of God, which marks were, pachad and chesed; the first to keep the Beasts in awe of Men; the latter to keep Men in love one with another. Whether there be any remains of a traditional imitation in the Indian World or not, I leave that and other conjectures to the Readers diversion.

Of their Traffick, Money, and Diet.

They live principally by Hunting, Fishing and Fowling. Before the Christians especially the Dutch came amongst them they were very dexterous Artists at their Bows, insomuch I have heard it affirm'd that a Boy of seven years old would shoot a Bird flying: and since they have learn'd the use of Guns, they prove better marksmen than others, and more dangerous too (as appear'd in the Indian War with New-England.) The Skins of all their Beasts, as Bears, Bevers, Rackoons, Foxes, Otters; Musquashes, Skunks, Deer and Wolves, they bring upon their backs to New-York, and other places of Trade, which they barter and exchange for Duffles or Guns, but too often for Rum, Brandy and other strong Liquors,

of which they are so intemperate lovers, that after they have once tasted, they will never forbear, till they are inflamed and enraged, even to that degree, that I have seen Men and their Wives Billingsgate it, through the Streets of New-York, as if they were metamorphosed into the nature of those beasts whose Skins they bartered: It were seriously to be wished that the Christians would be more sparing in the sale of that Liquor, which works such dismal effects upon those who are for gratifying their sensual Appetites: Being unacquainted with the comforts of Christian Temperance, and the elevated Doctrine of Self-denial and Mortification. They had better take to their primitive Beverage of water, which some Vertuoso's tell us breed no Worms in the Belly nor Maggots in the Brain.

Their Money is called Wampam and Sea-want, made of a kind of Cockle or Periwinkle-shell, of which there is scarce any, but at Oyster-Bay. They take the black out of the middle of the shell which they value as their Gold; they make their White Wampam or Silver of a kind of a Horn, which is beyond Oyster-bay: The meat within this horny fish is very good. They fashion both sorts like beads, and String them into several lengths, but the most usual measure is a Fathom; for when they make any considerable bargain, they usually say so many Fathom; So many black or so many white Wampams make a farthing, a penny, and so on: which Wampam or Indian Money we valued above the Spanish or English

Silver in any Payments, because of trading with the Indians in their own Coin. (See Note 24.) The price of Indian Commodities as sold by the Christian Merchants is as followeth.

	s.	d.	
Bevers	—00—	10—3	a Pound.
The Lapps	—00—	07—6	
Minks	—00—	05—0	
Grey Foxes	—00—	03—0	
Otters	—00—	08—0	
Rackoons	—00—	01—5	

Bever is fifteen pence a Skin Custom at New-York, four pence at London; three pence a Skin Freight, which is after the rate of fifteen Pound a Tun.

The value of other Skins, a Deer Skin 00—00—6 a p. A good Bear Skin will give 00—07—0. A black Bever-skin is worth a Bever and a half of another colour. A black Otter's-skin, if very good, is worth Twenty Shillings. A Fisher's-skin three shillings. A Cat's-skin half a Crown. A Wolf's-skin three shillings. A Musquash or a Muskrat's-skin six shillings and ten pence. An Oxe-hide three pence a pound wet and six pence dry. Rum in Barbados ten pence a Gallon. Molossus three pence a pound, and fifty shillings a barrel in winter, that being the dearest season. Sugar in Barbados twelve shillings the hundred which contains a hundred and twelve pounds; which at New-York yields thirty shillings the bare hundred. In Barbados (new Negro's i. e. such as cannot speak English) are bought for twelve or fourteen pound

a head, but if they can speak English sixteen or seventeen pound; and at New-York, if they are grown Men, they give thirty five and thirty or forty Pound a head; (see Note 25,) where by the by let me observe that the Indians look upon these Negroes or Blacks as an anomalous Issue, meer Edomites, hewers of Wood and drawers of Water.

The Price of Provisions: Long-Island Wheat three shillings a Skipple (a Skipple being three parts of a Bushel) Sopus Wheat half a Crown a Skipple, Sopus Pease half a Crown a Skipple; Indian Corn Flower fifteen shillings a hundred, Bread 18 a hundred. To Barbados 50s. a Tun freight, 4 Hogsheads to a Tun; Pork 3l. the barrel, which contains two hundred and 40 pounds, i. e. 3d. the pound; Beef 30s. the barrel; Butter 6d. a Pound: amongst Provisions I may reckon Tobacco, of which they are obstinate and incessant Smoakers, both Indians and Dutch, especially the latter, whose Diet especially of the boorish sort, being Sallets and Bacon, and very often picked buttermilk, require the use of that herb to keep their phlegm from coagulating and curdling. I once saw a pretty instance relating to the power of Tobacco, in two Dutchmen riding a race with short campaigne Pipes in their mouths, one of which being hurl'd from his Steed, as soon as he gathered himself up again, whip'd to his Pipe, and fell a sucking and drawing, regarding neither his Horse nor Fall, as if the prize consisted in getting that heat which came from his beloved smoke:

They never burn their Pipes, but as soon as they are out put them into their Pockets, and now and then wash them. The Indians originally made Pipes of Flint, and have some Pipes of Steel; they take the leaves of Tobacco and rub them betwixt their hands, and so smoke it; Tobacco is two pence halfpenny a pound, a merchantable Hogshead contains four hundred pound neat, i. e. without the Cask. A Dutch pound contains eighteen ounces. Pipe staves are fifty shillings or three pound a thousand, they are sent from New-York to the Madera Islands and Barbados, the best is made of White Oak. Their best Liquors are Fiall, Passado, and Madera Wines, the former are sweetish, the latter a palish Claret, very spritely and generous, two shillings a Bottle; their best Ale is made of Wheat Malt, brought from Sopus and Albany about threescore Miles from New-York by water; Syder twelve shillings the barrel; their quaffing liquors are Rum-Punch and Brandy-punch, not compounded and adulterated as in England, but pure water and pure Nants.

The Indians Diet.

What they liv'd upon originally is hard to determine, unless we recur to St. John Baptist's extemporary Diet in the Wilderness, for they may be properly called ἀλόβιοι, i. e. Inhabitants of the Wood, so may be supposed to have had their *victus parabilis*, food that wanted no dressing; but stories of the first times being meerly conjectural,

I shall only speak what I wrote down from the best information. They have a tradition that their Corn was at first dropt out of the mouth of a Crow from the Skies; just as Adam de Marisco (see Note 26,) was wont to call the Law of Nature Helias's Crow, something flying from Heaven with Provisions for our needs. They dig their ground with a Flint, called in their Language tom-a-hea-kan, (see Note 27,) and so put five or six grains into a hole the latter end of April or beginning of May, their Harvest is in October, their Corn grows like clusters of Grapes, which they pluck or break off with their hands, and lay it up to dry in a thin place, like unto our Cribs made of reed; when its well dryed they parch it, as we sprekle Beans and Pease, which is both a pleasant and a hearty food, and of a prodigious encrease, even a hundred fold, which is suppos'd as the highest degree of fruitfulness, which often reminded me of the Marquess of Worcester's (see Note 28,) Apophthegm of Christ's Miracle of five Loves and two Fishes, viz. that as few grains of Corn as will make five Loves being sowed in the earth will multiply and increase to such advantage as will feed 5000 with Bread, and two Fishes will bring forth so many fishes as will suffice so many mouths, and because such are so ordinary amongst us every day, we take no notice of them: this Indian Corn is their constant Viaticum in their travels and War. Their Squaws or Wives and Female Sex manage their Harvest, whilest the Men Hunt and Fish, and Fowl; of

which they bring all varieties to New-York, and that so cheap that I remember a Venison bought for three shillings; their Rivers are plentifully furnish'd with fish, as Place, Pearch, Trouts, Eels, Bass and Sheepshead, the two last are delicate Fish: They have great store of wild-fowl, as Turkeys, Heath-hens, Quails, Partridges, Pigeons, Cranes, Geese, Brants, Ducks, Widgeon, Teal and divers others: And besides their natural Diet, they will eat freely with the Christians, as I observed once when we were at dinner at the Governor's Table, a Sackamaker or King came in with several of his Attendants, and upon invitation sat round upon the Floor (which is their usual posture) and ate of such Meat as was sent from the Table: amongst themselves when they are very hungry they will eat their Dogs, which are but young Wolves stolen from their damms, several of which I have seen following them, as our Dogs here, but they won't eat of our Dogs because they say we feed them with salt meat, which none or but few of the Indians love, for they had none before the Christians came: so unacquainted were they with Acids: They are of opinion that when they have ill success in their hunting, fishing, &c. their Menitto is the cause of it, therefore when they have good success they throw their fat into the fire as a Sacrifice ingeminating Kenah Menitto, i. e. I thank you Menitto; their Kin-tau Kauns, (see Note 29,) or time of sacrificing is at the beginning of winter, because then all things are fat, where a great many Sacka-makers or

Kings meet together, and Feast; every Nation or Tribe has its Ka-kin-do-wet, (see Note 30,) or Minister, and every Sacka-maker gives his Ka-kin-do-wet 12 fathom of Wampam mixt, and all that are able at that time throw down Wampam upon the ground for the Poor and Fatherless, of whom they have a great many. Now I am speaking of fishing and fowling it may not be improper to add some thing about the art of catching Whales, which is thus, two Boats with six Men in each make a Company, viz. four Oars-men or Rowers; an Harpineer and a Steers-man; about Christmas is the season for Whaling, for then the Whales come from the North-east, Southerly, and continue till the latter end of March, and then they return again; about the Fin is the surest part for the Harpineer to strike: As soon as he is wounded, he makes all foam, with his rapid violent Course, so that if they be not very quick in clearing their main Warp to let him run upon the tow, which is a line fastned to the Harping-iron about 50 fathoms long, its a hundred to one he over-sets the Boat: As to the nature of a Whale, they copulate as Land-beasts, as is evident from the female Teats and Male's Yard, and that they Spawn as other Fishes is a vulgar error, Lam. 4. 3. even the Sea monsters draw out the breast they give suck to their young ones. For further its observable that their young Suckers come along with them their several courses. A Whale about 60 foot long having a thick and free Blubber may yield or make 40 or 50 barrels of Oyl, every Barrel

containing 31 or 32 Gallons at 20s. a Barrel, if it hath a good large bone it may be half a Tun or a Thousand weight, which may give 25l. Sterling old England Money. A Dubartus is a Fish of the shape of a Whale, (see Note 31,) which have teeth where the Whale has Bone, there are some 30 or 40 foot long, they are call'd by some the Sea-Wolf, of them the Whales are afraid, and do many times run themselves ashore in flying from them, this is prov'd by the Whalers who have seen them seize upon them: the Blubber of the Whale will sometimes be half a yard thick or deep, if the Blubber be not fat and free, the Whale is call'd a Dry-skin; a Scrag-tail Whale is like another, only somewhat less, and his bone is not good, for it will not split, and it is of a mixt colour, their Blubber is as good for the quantity as others: I never heard of any Spermaceti Whales, either catch'd or driven upon these Shores, which Sperma as they call it (in the Bahama Islands) lies all over the body of these Whales, they have divers Teeth which may be about as big as a Man's wrist, which the ordinary Whales have not, they are very strong, fierce and swift, inlaid with Sinews all over their bodies. But to leave this Leviathan to his pastime in the deep, let us go a shore, and speak something of the nature of a Beaver, in hunting of which the Indians take great pains and pleasure; the Beaver hath two sorts of Hair, one short soft and fine to protect him from the cold, the other long and thick, to receive the dirt and mire, in which they are often busie and employed, and to hinder it

from spoiling the skin; his teeth are of a peculiar contexture, fit to cut boughs and sticks, with which they build themselves houses, and lodgings of several stories and rooms, to breed their young ones in: for which purpose nature hath also furnish'd them with such forefeet as exactly resemble the feet of a Monkey, or the hands of a Man: their hind-feet proper for swimming, being like those of a Duck or Goose: As to the Castoreum or parts conceived to be bitten away to escape the Hunter, is a vulgar conceit, more owing to Juvenal and other poetical fancies than to any traditional truth, or the Etymologies of some bad Gramarians, deriving *Castore a castrando*, whereas the proper Latin word is *fiber*, and *castor*, but borrowed from the Greek, so called *quasi* γα'στος, i. e. animal ventricosum, from his swaggy and prominent belly: the particular account of which is in Dr. Brown's (see Note 32,) Vulgar Errors: but to be short, the bladders containing the Castoreum are distinct from the Testicles or Stones, and are found in both Sexes; with which when the Indians take any of them they anoint their Traps or Gins which they set for these Animals, to allure and draw them hither.

As to the nature of Bears, their bringing forth their young informous and unshapen, I wholly refer you to Doctor Brown's said Vulgar Errors: the substance of their legs is of a particular structure, of a thick fattish ligament, very good to eat, and so the Indians say of their body, which is often their diet; when they hunt them, they com-

monly go two or three in company with Guns: for in case one shoot and miss the Bear will make towards them, so they shoot one after another to escape the danger and make their Game sure: But without Guns or any Weapon except a good Cudgel or Stick. I was one with others that have had very good diversion and sport with them, in an Orchard of Mr. John Robinson's of New-York; (see Note 33), where we follow'd a Bear from Tree to Tree, upon which he could swarm like a Cat; and when he was got to his resting place, perch'd upon a high branch, we dispatc'd a youth after him with a Club to an opposite bough, who knocking his Paws, he comes grumbling down backwards with a thump upon the ground, so we after him again: His descending backwards is a thing particularly remarkable: Of which I never read any account, nor know not to what defect in its structure to impute it: unless to the want of the *intestinum cœcum*, which is the fourth Gut from the Ventricle or Stomach, and first of the thick Guts, which by reason of its divers infolds and turnings seems to have no end, and for that reason perhaps called cœcum or blind Gut: which being thick may probably detain the meat in the belly, in a descending posture: but these conjectures I wholly submit to the anatomical faculty: The Indians seems to have a great value for these animals, both for their skins and carkase-sake, the one good meat, the other good barter: And I may infer the same from a present which my acquaintance, old Claus the Indian, made me of a couple of well grown Bears

Cubs, two or three days before I took Shiping for England, he thinking I would have brought them along with me, which present I accepted with a great deal of Ceremony (as we must every thing from their hands) and ordered my Negro boy about 12 years old to tye them under the Crib by my Horse, and so left them to any ones acceptance upon my going aboard: I brought over with me a Grey Squirrel, a Parret and a Rockoon, the first the Lady Sherard (see Note 34,) had some years at Stapleford, the second, I left at London; the last I brought along with me to Alford, where one Sunday in Prayer time some Boys giving it Nutts, it was choaked with a shell: It was by nature a very curious cleanly Creature, never eating any thing but first washed it with its forefeet very carefully: the Parot was a pratling familiar bird, and diverting company in my solitary intervals upon our Voyage home. As I was talking with it upon the Quarter Deck, by a sudden rowling of the Ship, down drops Pall overboard into the Sea and cry'd out amain poor Pall: The Ship being almost becalm'd, a kind Seaman threw out a Rope, and Pall seiz'd it with his Beak and came safe aboard again: This for my own diversion. As the Serpent was the most dangerous reptile in Paradise, so is the Rattle Snake in the Wilderness. It has its name from the configuration of its skin, which consists of several foldings which are all contracted *dum latet in herba*, whilst it lies on the grass, or at the root of some rotten Tree, from whence it often surprizes the unwary traveller, and in throwing himself at

his legs: The dilating of these folds occasion a rattling. Wherever it penetrates or bites it certainly poysons: they are in their greatest vigour in July; but the all-wise Providence which hath furnish'd every Climate with antidotes proper for their distempers and annoyances, has afforded great plenty of Penny-royal or Ditany, whose leaves bruised are very hot and biting upon the Tongue, which being tied in a clift of a long stick, and held to the nose of a Rattle Snake, will soon kill it by the smell and scent thereof; the vertues of this Plant are so effectual, that we read by taking of it inwardly, or by outward application and by fume it will expell a dead Child. And the juice of it applied to wounds made by Sword, or the biting of venomous creatures is a present remedy: but besides this, I shall speak of another way of drawing out the poyson of these Creatures, which is by sucking of it out with their mouths, which one Indian will do for another, or for any Christian so poyson'd: A rare example of pure humanity, even equal to that of the Lady Elenor, the Wife of King Edward the first, who when her Husband had three wounds given him with the poysoned Knife of Anzazim the Saracen, two in the Arm and one near the Arm-pit, which by reason of the envenom'd blade were fear'd to be mortal, and when no Medicine could extract the poyson, his Lady did it with her Tongue, licking dayly while her Husband slept, his rankling wounds, whereby they perfectly clos'd, and yet her self receiv'd no harm, so sovereign a medicine is a good Tongue,

beyond the attractive power of Cupping Glasses and Cauteries. It were to be wish'd that where Penny-royal or Dittany is scarce or unknown, that every Country family understood the vertue of Rue or Herb-a-grace, which is held as a preservative against infectious Diseases, and cures the biting of a mad Dog or other venom, which would be no invasion upon, or striving with the dispensatory of Pestal and Mortar, Still and Furnace; which legal faculties and professions being established and encourag'd by the wise constitutions of Governments, should not be interlop'd and undermin'd by persons of any other faculties, who are too apt to add temporal Pluralities to their spiritual Cures. Indeed it is a duty owing to human nature, to administer to and assist any one *in forma pauperis*, but to take a fee a reward or gratuity from a Naaman or a person able to employ the proper faculty, is to act the Gehazi, and not the Prophet Elisha; *Miles equis, piscator aquis*, an hammer for the Smith, an Homer for the School, let the Shooe-maker mind his Boot, and the Fisherman his Boat, the Divine his Sermon, and the Doctor his Salmon. This digression I hope will be taken as it's written with an impartial deference to both professions: for as we are taught from Jesus the Son of Sirach, to honor the physician for his skill, and the Apothecary for his confections, Ecclesiasticus chap. 38. 1. 8. so we are taught from a greater than he, to honor and revere the Doctors of souls, the holy Jesus the Son of God, for their Spiritual Cures and Dispensatories: But to

return to the Indians, they have Doctors amongst them, whom they call Me-ta-ow, (see Note 35,) to whom every one gives something for there Cure, but if they die nothing at all, and indeed their skill in simples costs them nothing, their general remedy for all diseases is their sweating: Which is thus: when they find themselves any ways indisposed, they make a small Wigwam or House, nigh a River-side, out of which in the extremity of the Sweat they plunge themselves into the Water; about which I discoursed with one of their Me-ta-ows, and told him of the European way of Sweating in Beds, and rubbing our bodies with warm cloths: to which he answered he thought theirs the more effectual way: because the water does immediately stop all the passages (as he call'd the Pores) and at the same time wash off the excrementitious remainder of the Sweat, which he thought could not be so clearly done by friction or rubbing; which practice I leave to the consideration or rather diversion of the Physicians and their Balneo's: but this experiment prov'd Epidemical in Small-Pox, by hindering them from coming out. As to their way of living, it's very rudely and rovingly, shifting from place to place, according to their exigencies, and gains of fishing and fowling and hunting, never confining their rambling humors to any settled Mansions. Their Houses which they call Wigwams are as so many Tents or Booths covered with the barks of Trees, in the midst of which they have their fires, about which they sit in the day time, and lie in the

nights; they are so Saturnine that they love extremes either to sit still or to be in robustous motions, spending their time in drowsie conferences, being naturally unenclin'd to any but lusory pastimes and exercises; their Diet in general is raw Flesh, Fish, Herbs, and Roots or such as the Elements produce without the concoction of the fire to prepare it for their Stomachs; so their Horses are of a hardy temperament, patient of hunger and cold, and in the sharp winter, when the ground is cover'd with Snow, nourish themselves with the barks of Trees, and such average and herbage as they can find at the bottom of the Snow: But now I am speaking of Horses, I never could be inform'd nor ever did see an Indian to have been on Horseback: Of which there are great ranges runing wild in the Woods, to which they pretend no right: but leave them to the Dutch and English Chevaliers to tame and manage; for which I often wondered there were not cheif Rangers, and a *Charta de Foresta* to regulate such Games. When they travel by water, they have small Boats, which they call Canoes, made of the barks of Trees, so very narrow, that two can neither sit nor stand a breast, and those they row with long paddles, and that so swiftly, that they'll skim away from a Boat with four Oars, I have taken a particular pleasure in plying these paddles, standing upright and steddy, which is their usual posture for dispatch: In which they bring Oysters and other fish for the Market: they are so light and portable that a Man and his Squaw will take them upon their Sholders and

carry them by Land from one River to another, with a wonderful expedition; they will venture with them in a dangerous Current, even through Hell-gate it self, which lies in an arm of the Sea, about ten miles from New-York Eastward to New-England, as dangerous and as unaccountable as the Norway Whirl-pool or Maelstrom: in this Hell-gate which is a narrow passage, runneth a rapid violent Stream both upon Flood and Ebb; and in the middle lieth some Islands of Rocks, upon which the Current sets so violently, that it threatens present Shipwrack; and upon the Flood is a large whirlpool, which sends forth a continual hedious roaring; it is a place of great defence against an Enemy coming that way, which a small Fortification would absolutely prevent, by forcing them to come in at the west-end of Long-Island by Sandy-Hook, where Nutten-Island would force them within the command of the Fort of New-York, which is one of the strongest and best situated Garrisons in the North parts of America, and was never taken but once through the default of one Captain Manning, who in absence of the Governour suffered the Dutch to take it; for which he was condemned to an Exile to a small Island from his name, call'd Manning's Island, where I have been several times with the said Captain, whose entertainment was commonly a Bowl of Rum-Punch. (See Note 36.) In deep Snows the Indians with broad Shoos much in the shap of the round part of our Rackets which we use at Tennis: will travel without sinking in the least: at other times

their common ordinary Shooes are parts of raw Beasts-skins tied about their feet: when they travel, for directing others who follow them, they lay sticks across, or leave some certain mark on Trees. Now I am speaking of the Indian Shooes, I cannot forbear acquainting the Reader that I seldom or never observ'd the Dutch Women wear any thing but Slippers at home and abroad, which often reminded me of what I read in Dr. Hamond (see Note 37,) upon the 6th of Ephesians, N. B. that the Ægyptian Virgins were not permitted to wear Shooes, i. e. not ready to go abroad: like the custom among the Hebrews, whose women were call'd ὀικοεις, *domi portæ* and οικϑρϑσαὶ home-setters and ὀικϑρικαὶ house bearers, the Heathen painted before the modest women's doors Venus sitting upon a Snail, *quæ domi porta vocatur*, called a House bearer, to teach them to stay at home, and to carry their Houses about with them. So the Virgins were called by the Hebrews *Gnalamoth*, *absconditæ*, hid, and the places of their abodes ϖαρθηνωναὶ, *cellæ Virginales*, Virgins Cells. Contrary to these are Whores Pro. 7. 11. her feet abide not in her house, therefore the Chaldees call her *Niphcathhara* going abroad, and an Harlot the Daughter of an Harlot, *egredientem filiam egredientis*, a goer forth, the Daughter of a goer forth; and when Dinah went out to see the Daughters of the Land, and was ravish'd by Sichem: Simeon and Levi cry out, should he deal with our Sister as with an Harlot, which the Targum renders, *an sicut exeuntem foras:* They have another custom differing

from other Nations. They feast freely and merrily at the Funeral of any Friend, to which I have been often invited and sometimes a Guest, a custom derived from the Gentiles to the latter Jews, according to which says Josephus of Archelaus, he mourned seven days for his Father, and made a sumptuous Funeral Feast for the multitude, and he adds that this custom was the impoverishing of many Families among the Jews, and that upon necessity, for if a Man omitted it, he was accounted no pious Man. The Dutch eat and drink very plentifully at these Feasts; but I do not remember any Musick or Minstrels, or *monumentarii choraulæ* mentioned by Apuleius, or any of the Musick mentioned by Ovid *de fastis.*

Cantabis mœstis tibia funeribus.

So that perhaps it may be in imitation of David's example, who as soon as his child was dead, wash'd and anointed himself and ate his bread as formerly, 2 Sam. 12. 20. In all these Feasts I observ'd they sit Men and Women intermixt, and not as our English do Women and Men by themselves apart. (See Note 38.)

Of the Indians Marriages and Burials.

When an Indian has a mind to a woman (asking the consent of Parents) he gives her so many Fathom of Wampam according to his ability, then his betrothed covers her face for the whole year before she is married, which put me in mind of Rebekah, who took a veil and covered her self

when she met Isaac, Gen. 24. 65. which veil (saith *Tertullian de velandis virginibus*) was a token of her modesty and subjection. The Husband doth not lie with his Squaw or Wife, whilst the Child has done Sucking, which is commonly two years, for they say the Milk will not be good if they get Children so fast. They bury their friends sitting upon their heels as they usually sit, and they put into their graves with them a Kettle, a Bow and Arrows, and a Notas or Purse of Wampam; they fancy that after their death they go to the Southward, and so they take their necessaries along with them; or perhaps like the uncircumcis'd in Ezek. 32. 27. who went down to the Grave with Weapons of War, and laid their Swords under their heads, the ensigns of Valor and Honor: as tho they would carry their strength to the grave with them, contrary to that of the Apostle, it is sown a weak body, 1 Cor. 15. They mourn over their dead commonly two or three days before they bury them: they fence and stockado their graves about, visiting them once a year, dressing the weeds from them, many times they plant a certain Tree by their Graves which keeps green all the year: They all believe they shall live as they do now, and think they shall marry, but must not work as they do here; they hold their Soul or Spirit to be the breath of Man: They have a Tradition amongst them that about five hundred years agoe, a Man call'd (Wach que ow) came down from above, upon a Barrel's-head, let down by a Rope, and lived amongst them sixty years, who

told them he came from an happy place, where there were many of their Nations, and so he left them. And they have another Tradition of one Meco Nish, who had lain as dead sixteen days, all which time he was unburied, because he had a little warmth about his breast, and after sixteen days he lived again, in which interval he told them he had been in a fine place where he saw all that had been dead. Such Traditions as these ought to be lookt upon by the Professors of Christianity, as the Epileptick half moon Doctrine of that grand Enthusiast Mahomet, beyond whose Tomb hanging in the air his Superstitious Arabians are not able to lift their minds to the Kingdom of Heaven: So that the Mahometans Tomb and the Indians Tub may stand upon the same bottom, as to their Credit and Tradition: and the Indians after their rising again to the Southward shall Marry, Eat and Drink, may plead as fair for them as the Mahometans earthly Paradise of Virgins with fairer and larger eyes than ever they beheld in this world, and such like sensual enjoyments, which its even a shame to mention: or the Jews worldly Messiah, who ought all to be the dayly objects of our Christian prayers and endeavours for their Conversion, that they may believe and obtain a better Resurrection, even the *Necumah* (see Note 39,) the day of Consolation, when we shall be so wonderfully changed as to be fit Companions for Angels, and reign with our Saviour in his Glory, who only hath the words of eternal life. In order to which I shall endeavour to offer some proposals

in a Second Part, *de propaganda fide;* and so conclude this with some mixt occasional observations, with all due respects to some modern Criticks: Whether Adam or Eve sewed their fig-leave together with needle and thread is not my business to be so nice as *rem istam acu tangere:* But this I am well inform'd of, That the Indians, make thread of Nettles pill'd when full ripe, pure white and fine, and likewise another sort of brownish thread of a small weed almost like a Willow, which grows in the Wood, about three foot high, which is called Indian Hemp, of which they likewise make Ropes and bring them to sell, which wears as strong as our Hemp, only it wont endure wet so well, of this they make their Baggs, Purses or Sacks which they call Notas, which word signifies a Belly, (see Note 40,) and so they call any thing that's hollow to carry any thing. Their work is weaving with their fingers, they twist all their thread upon their Thighs, with the palm of their hands, they interweave their Porcupine quills into their baggs, their Needles they make of fishes or small beast bones, and before the Christians came amongst them, they had Needles of Wood, for which Nut-wood was esteemed best, called *Um-be-re-mak-qua*, their Axes and Knives they made of white Flint-stones; and with a Flint they will cut down any tree as soon as a carpenter with a Hatchet, which experiment was tried of late years by one Mr. Crabb of Alford in Lincolnshire, for a considerable wager, who cut down a large Tree with a flint, handled the Indian way, with an unexpected art

and quickness. They make their Candles of the same wood that the Masts of Ships are made of, which they call *Woss-ra-neck.* (See Note 41.) Thus far of the Indians, in this first part, which were part of my own personal observations, and other good informations from one Claus an Indian, otherwise called Nicholas by the English, but Claus by the Dutch, with whom I was much acquainted, and likewise from one Mr. John Edsal the constant Interpreter betwixt the Governor and the Indians, and all others upon all important affairs, who was my intimate acquaintance, and his Son my Scholar and Servant, whose own hand-writing is in many of my Memorials: One thing I had almost forgot, i. e. when the Indians look one another's Heads they eat the Lice and say they are wholesome, never throwing any away or killing them: In a word as they have a great many manly instincts of nature, so I observed them very civil and respectful both in their behaviour and entertainment; I cannot say that ever I met any company of them, which I frequently did in my walks out of the Town, but they would bow both Head and Knee, saying here comes the *Sacka-makers Kakin-dowet*, i. e. the Governours Minister, whom I always saluted again with all due ceremony. They are faith-guides in the woods in times of Peace, and as dangerous enemies in times of War. Their way of fighting is upon Swamps, i. e. Bogs and Quagmires, in sculking Ambushes, beyond Trees and in Thickets, and never in a body. When they intend War they paint their faces black, but red

is the sun-shine of Peace. There are several Nations which may be more properly called Tribes of Indians.

Rockoway upon the South of Jamaica upon Long-Island, the 1.

Sea-qua-ta-eg, to the South of Huntingdon, the 2.

Unckah-chau-ge, Brooke-haven, the 3.

Se-tauck, Seatauchet North, the 4.

Ocqua-baug, South-hold to the North, the 5.

Shin-na-cock, Southampton, the greatest Tribe, the 6.

Mun-tauck, to the Eastward of East-Hampton, the 7.

All these are Long-Island Indians. (See Note 42)

The Tribes which are Friends.

Top-paun, the greatest, which consists of an hundred and fifty fighting young Men. It's call'd the greatest because they have the greatest Sachim or Sacka-maker, i. e. King, whose name is Maimshee.

The Second is Ma-nissing, which lies westward from Top-paun, two days Journey; it consists of three hundred fighting Men, the Sacka-makers name is called Taum-ma-hau-Quauk.

The Third, Wee-quoss-cah-chau. i. e. Westchester Indians, which consists of seventy fighting Men, the Sacka-makers name is Wase-sa-kin-now.

The Fourth, Na-ussin, or Neversinks, a Tribe of very few, the Sacka-makers name is Onz-zeech.

May the lover of Souls bring these scattered desert people home to his own Flock.

To return from the Wilderness into New-York, a place of as sweet and agreeable air as ever I breathed in, and the Inhabitants, both English and Dutch very civil and courteous as I may speak by experience, amongst whom I have often wished my self and Family, to whose tables I was frequently invited, and always concluded with a generous bottle of Madera. I cannot say I observed any swearing or quarrelling, but what was easily reconciled and recanted by a mild rebuke, except once betwixt two Dutch Boors (whose usual oath is Sacrament) which abateing the abusive language, was no unpleasant Scene. As soon as they met (which was after they had alarm'd the neighbourhood) they seized each other's hair with their forefeet, and down they went to the Sod, their Vrows and Families crying out because they could not part them, which fray happening against my Chamber window, I called up one of my acquaintance, and ordered him to fetch a kit full of water and discharge it at them, which immediately cool'd their courage, and loosed their grapples: so we used to part our Mastiffs in England. In the same City of New-York where I was Minister to the English, there were two other Ministers or Domines as they were called there, the one a Lutheran a German or High-Dutch, the other a Calvinist an Hollander or Low-Dutchman, who behav'd themselves one towards another so shily and uncharitably as if

Luther and Calvin had bequeathed and entailed their virulent and bigotted Spirits upon them and their heirs forever They had not visited or spoken to each other with any respect for six years together before my being there, with whom I being much acquainted, I invited them both with their Vrows to a Supper one night unknown to each other, with an obligation, that they should not speak one word in Dutch, under the penalty of a Bottle of Medera, alledging I was so imperfect in that Language that we could not manage a sociable discourse, so accordingly they came, and at the first interview they stood so appaled as if the Ghosts of Luther and Calvin had suffered a transmigration, but the amaze soon went off with a *salve tu quoque*, and a Bottle of Wine, of which the Calvinist Domine was a true Carouzer, and so we continued our *Mensalia* the whole meeting in Latine, which they both spoke so fluently and promptly that I blush'd at my self with a passionate regret, that I could not keep pace with them; and at the same time could not forbear reflecting upon our English Schools and Universities (who indeed write Latine Elegantly) but speak it, as if they were confined to Mood and Figure, Forms, and Phrases, whereas it should be their common talk in their Seats and Halls, as well as in their School Disputations, and Themes. This with all deference to these repositories of Learning. As to the Dutch Language in which I was but a smatterer, I think it lofty, majestic and emphatical, especially the German or High-Dutch, which as

far as I understand it is very expressive in the Scriptures, and so underived that it may take place next the Oriental Languages, and the Septuagint: The name of the Calvinist was Newenhouse, (see Note 43), of the Lutheran Bernhardus Frazius, who was of a Gentile Personage, and a very agreeable behaviour in conversation, I seldom knew of any Law-suits, for indeed Attorneys were denyed the liberty of pleading: The English observed one anniversary custom, and that without superstition, I mean the *strenarum commercium*, as Suetonius calls them, a neighbourly commerce of presents every New-Years day.

Totus ab auspicio, ne foret annus iners. Ovid. Fastor.

Some would send me a Sugar-loaf, some a pair of Gloves, some a Bottle or two of Wine. In a word, the English Merchants and Factors (whose names are at the beginning) were very unanimous and obliging. There was one person of Quality, by name Mr. Russel, (see Note 44,) younger brother to the late Lord Russel, a gentleman of a comely Personage, and very obliging, to whose lodgings I was often welcome: But I suppose his Fortune was that of a younger Brother according to Henry the VIII's. Constitution, who abolished and repealed the Gavelkind custom, whereby the Lands of the Father were equally divided among all his Sons, so that ever since the Cadets or younger Sons of the English Nobility and Gentry, have only that of the Poet to bear up their Spirits.

Sum pauper, non culpa mea est, sed culpa parentum
Qui me fratre meo non genuere prius.

In my rude English rhiming thus.

I'm poor (my dad) but that's no fault of mine,
If any fault there be, the fault is thine,
Because thou did'st not give us Gavelkine.

The Dutch in New-York observe this custom, an instance of which I remember in one Frederick Philips (see Note 45,) the richest Miin Heer in that place, who was said to have whole Hogsheads of Indian Money or Wampam, who having one Son and Daughter, I was admiring what a heap of Wealth the Son would enjoy, to which a Dutch Man replied, that the Daughter must go halves, for so was the manner amongst them, they standing more upon Nature than Names; that as the root communicates it self to all its branches, so should the Parent to all his off-spring which are the Olive branches round about his Table. And if the case be so, the minors and infantry of the best Families might wish they had been born in Kent, rather than in such a Christendom as entails upon them their elder Brother's old Cloths, or some superannuated incumber'd reversion, but to invite both elder and younger Brothers to this sweet Climate of New-York, when they arrive there, if they are enclined to settle a Plantation, they may purchase a tract of ground at a very small rate, in my time at two-pence or three-pence the Acre, for which they have a good Patent or Deed from the Governor. Indeed its all full of Wood, which as it

will require some years before it be fit for use, so the burning of it does manure and meliorate the Soil; if they be for Merchandice, they pay for their freedom in New-York but fix Bevers or an equivalent in Money, i. e. three pounds twelve shillings, and seventeen shillings Fees: And Goods that are brought over commonly return cent. per cent. i. e. a hundred pounds laid out in London will commonly yield or afford 200 pounds there. Fifty per cent. is looked upon as an indifferent advance, the species of payment and cerdit or trust is sometimes hazardous, and the Commodities of that Country will yield very near as much imported into England, for three and forty pounds laid out in Bever and other Furrs, when I came away, I received about four-score in London; indeed the Custom upon the skins is high, which perhaps might raise it to eight and forty pounds, or fifty; as for what I had occasion, some things were reasonable, some dear. I paid for two load of Oats in the straw 18 shillings to one Mr. Henry Dyer: to the same for a load of Pease-straw six shillings: paid to Thomas Davis for shooing my Horse three shillings, for in that place Horses are seldom, some not shod at all, their Hoofs by running in the woods so long before they are backed are like Flints: Paid to Derick, i. e. Richard Secah's Son for a load of Hay twelve shillings: Paid to Denys Fisher's Son a Carpenter, for two days work in the Stable eight shillings: for a Curry Comb and Horse-brush four shillings: to Jonathan the Barber 1*l.* 4*s.* the year: to the Shoo-maker for

a pair of Boots and Shooes 1*l.* 5*s.* to the Washer-woman or Laundress 1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* the Year. So all Commodities and Trades are dearer or cheaper according to the plenty of importation from England and other parts: The City of New-York in my time was as large as some Market Towns with us, all built the London way; the Garrison side of a high situation and a pleasant Prospect, the Island it stands on all a level and Champain; the diversion especially in the Winter season used by the Dutch is aurigation, i. e. riding about in Wagons which is allowed by Physicians to be a very healthful exercise by Land. And upon the Ice its admirable to see Men and Women as it were flying upon their Skates from place to place, (see Note 46), with Markets upon their Heads and Backs. In a word, it's a place so every way inviting that our English Gentry, Merchants and Clergy (especially such as have the natural Stamina of a consumptive propagation in them; or an Hypocondriacal Consumption) would flock thither for self preservation. This I have all the reason to affirm, and believe from the benign effectual influence it had upon my own constitution; but oh the passage, the passage thither, *hic labor, hoc opus est:* there is the timorous objection: the Ship may founder by springing a Leak, be wreckt by a Storm or taken by a Pickeroon: which are plausible pleas to flesh and blood, but if we would examine the bills of mortality and compare the several accidents and diseases by the Land, we should find them almost a hundred for one to what happens by Sea, which

deserves a particular Essay, and if we will believe the ingenious Dr. Carr in his *Epistolæ Medicinales*, there is an *Emetick Vomitory* vertue in the Sea-water it self, which by the motion of the Ship operates upon the Stomach and ejects whatever is offensive, and so extimulates and provokes or recovers the appetite, which is the chiefest defect in such Constitutions: and besides, there is a daily curiosity in contemplating the wonders of the Deep, as to see a Whale wallowing and spouting cataracts of Water, to see the Dolphin that hieroglyphick of celerity leaping above water in chase of the flying fish, which I have sometimes tasted of as they flew aboard, where they immediately expire out of their Element; and now and then to hale up that Canibal of the Sea, I mean the Shark, by the bate of a large gobbet of Beef or Pork; who makes the Deck shake again by his flapping violence, and opens his devouring mouth with double rows of teeth, in shape like a Skate or Flare as we call them in Cambridge; of which dreadful fish I have often made a meal at Sea, but indeed it was for want of other Provisions. When I came for England in a Quaker's Ship, whose Master's name was Heathcot; (see Note 47,) who, when he had his plum Broths, I and the rest were glad of what Providence sent us from day to day, our water and other Provisions, which he told us upon going aboard were fresh and newly taken in, were before we arrived in England so old and nauseous that we held our noses when we used them, and had it not been for a kind Rundlet of Medera Wine, which the Go-

vernor's Lady presented me with, it had gone worse: but such a passage may not happen once in a hundred times; for as I went from England to New-York, I faired very plentifully both with fresh and season'd meat, & good drink, Sheep killed according to our occasion, and likewise Poultry coop'd up and corn'd and cram'd, which made the common Sea men so long for a novelty, that as I went down betwixt Decks I observ'd two Terpaulins tossing something in a Blanket, and being very inquisitive they told me they were roasting a Cockerill, which was by putting a red-hot Bullet into it after it was trust, which would fetch all the Feathers off and roast well enough for their Stomachs, at which I smiling went again above-deck, and made it a publick and pardonable diversion; but as to the Sharks, as our Ship was one day becalm'd, and four of our Seamen for diversion Swimming about the Vessel, we on board espied two or three of them making towards their prey, we all shouted and made what noise we could, and scared them (tho with much ado) from seizing the Men, whilst we drew them up by ropes cast out; when they are sure of their prey they turn themselves upon their backs & strike their Prey, but in case a Man has the courage to face them in swimming they make away, so awful is the aspect of that noble animal Man: but suppose his Courage or his Strength fails him, and he becomes a prey to any of the watry host, what difference betwixt being eaten by fish or by worms at the Christian Resurrection, when the Sea must

give up its Dead, and our scattered parts be recollected into the same form again; but to conclude all with an Apophthegm of the Lord Bacon's, viz. 'One was saying that his Great-Grand-father 'Grand-father and Father died at Sea. Said an-'other that heard him, and as I were you, I would 'never come to Sea; why saith he, where did 'your Great-Grand-father and Ancestors die? he 'answered where but in their Beds, saith the 'other, and I were as you I would never go to Bed. But for all this I durst venture a knap in a Cabbin at Sea, or in a Hammock in the Woods. So Reader a good Night.

Opere in tanto fas est obrepere somnum.

FINIS.

NOTES.

Note 1, *page* 21.

The good ship *Blossom* belonged to Charlestown, Mass., and was one of the "regular traders" of those days. We find that Sir Robert Carr returned to England from New York in 1667, in a vessel commanded by Captain Martin. Shortly after her arrival at New York with Gov. Andros, Robert Swet her boatswain ran away, and a "hue and cry" was sent after him from the office of the Provincial Secretary to Long Island and "The Maine." The *Blossom* cleared from New York for England on the 14th October, 1678, with the following passengers: Edward Griffith, John Delaval, Abram Depeyster, Jacques Guyon, Thomas Mollineux, Mrs. Mary Vervangher, Mrs. Frances Lowden, Mrs. Charity Clarke, Mrs. Rachel Whitthill her sister, Barent Reinderts, wife and five children, and Levynus Van Schaick; and carried back the governor's despatches. We lose sight of the good vessel now until the 6th of July, 1681, when she again arrived in New York, from which port she cleared for the Medeiras on the 1st of September following, still under the command of Capt. Richard Martin. On the 28th September, 1683, she cleared for Boston from New York; arrived at Amboy, N. J., from England, on the 15th February, 1684-5, and cleared at New York for Barbadoes on the 6th of June, 1685. From 1691 to 1701 we find the "pinke" *Blossom* a regular trader between the island of Barbadoes and New York, but under another commander.—*N. Y. State Rec.*

Note 2, *page* 21.

Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Seigneur of Sausmarez, was born in London 6th December, 1637. His ancestors were from Northamptonshire. John Andros, the first of them connected with Guernsey, was Lieutenant to Sir Peter Meautis, the Governor, and married, in 1543, Judith de Sausmarez, the heiress, who brought the fief Sausmarez into the family. Their son, John, became a King's ward, in the custody of Sir Leonard Chamberlain, the Governor, during a long minority, and appears as a Jurat of the Royal court at the coming of the Royal Commissioners in 1582. The grandson, Thomas, also a Jurat, was Lieutenant-Governor, under Lord Carew, in 1611. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Amice de Carteret, Seigneur of Winsby Manor in Jersey, and Lieutenant-Governor and Bailiff of Guernsey, and had many children. Amice, father of Sir Edmund,

was the eldest son, and married Elizabeth Stone, sister of Sir Robert Stone, Knight, Cupbearer to the Queen of Bohemia, and captain of a troop of horse in Holland; he was Master of the Ceremonies to King Charles the First when his son Edmund was born, who was brought up from a boy in the Royal family, and in its exile commenced his career of arms in Holland, under Prince Henry of Nassau. Upon the restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, the inhabitants of Guernsey thought it right to petition for pardon for having submitted to Cromwell. On the 13th August, an Order in Council was issued granting said pardon, but declaring, at the same time, that Amice Andros of Sausmarez, Bailiff of said Island, Edmund his son, and Charles, brother of Amice, had, to their great credit during the late Rebellion, continued inviolably faithful to his Majesty, and consequently, have no need of being comprised in the general pardon. To reward his loyalty, Edmund was made Gentleman in Ordinary to Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, the King's aunt, noted for the vicissitudes of her life, and as having given an heir to the House of Hanover; her daughter, Princess Sophia, being the mother of George the First. He subsequently distinguished himself in the war waged by Charles the Second against the Dutch, and which ended in 1667. He married in 1671, Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Craven, a sister of Sir W. Craven, of Appletreewick in Yorkshire, and of Combe Abbey in Warwickshire, Knight, heir in reversion to the Barony of Craven of Hampsted Marshall. On 2d April, 1672, a regiment of dragoons, raised for the King's cousin, Prince Rupert, was directed to be armed "with the bayonet or great knife;" this being its first introduction into the English army. Major Andros was promoted to this regiment, and the four Barbadoes companies then under his command, were advanced to be troops of horse in it. (*Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, by Col. Mackinnon.*) In the same year, the proprietors of the Province of Carolina, by patent in the Latin language, dated 23d April, under their great seal and hands, and making allusion to his services and merits, conferred on him and his heirs the title and dignity of Landgrave, with four Baronies containing 48,000 acres of land at a quit-rent of a penny an acre. The distinction bestowed by the proprietors, honorable as it was, does not appear to have been otherwise beneficial, and neither he nor his heirs, it is believed, at any time derived advantage from the large quantity of land annexed to the dignity. In 1674, on the death of his father, he became Seigneur of the Fiefs and succeeded to the office of Bailiff of Guernsey, the reversion to which had been granted him. The war which had recommenced with the Dutch having terminated, his regiment was disbanded, and he was commissioned by the King to receive New York and its dependencies, pursuant to the treaty of peace, and constituted Governor of that Province. He arrived in this country, accompanied by his wife, on the 1st of November, 1674, and entered on the government on the 10th of that month. He returned to England in November, 1677, and was Knighted by Charles the Second in 1678, when he resumed his government, the affairs of which he continued to administer until

January, 1681 (N. S.), when he repaired, by order, to England, and in 1682 was sworn Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber. In the following year, the Island of Alderney was granted to him and Lady Mary Andros, for ninety-nine years, at a rent of thirteen shillings, and in 1685 he was made Colonel of her Royal Highness Princess Anne of Denmark's regiment of horse. In 1686, James the Second appointed him Governor, Captain-General and Vice-Admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth and certain dependent territories, and soon afterwards, in addition, of Rhode Island and of Connecticut, comprehending the whole of New England. He arrived at Nantasket in the *Kingfisher*, 50, on the 19th December, 1686, and was received, a few days after, in Boston "with great acclamation of joy." (*Cambridge Almanac*, 1687.) On the 7th April, 1688, New York and New Jersey were placed under his jurisdiction. In the month of September following, he held a Treaty with the Five Nations of Indians at Albany, and a few weeks after returned to Boston, where he had the misfortune to lose his wife in the forepart of the following year. Her Ladyship was buried by torchlight, the corpse having been carried from the Governor's residence to the South Church, in a hearse drawn by six horses, attended by a suitable guard of honor. In the administration of his government, Sir Edmund Andros failed not to become unpopular, and on the 18th April, 1689, shortly after the receipt of the news of the Revolution, he was deposed and imprisoned, and sent back to England in 1690. He continued, notwithstanding, in the favor of the Court, and in 1692 William the Third preferred him to the governorship of Virginia, to which was adjoined that of Maryland. Governor Andros brought over to Virginia the Charter of William and Mary's College, of which he laid the foundation. He encouraged manufactures and the cultivation of cotton in that Colony, regulated the Secretary's office, where he commanded all the public papers and records to be sorted and kept in order, and when the State House was burnt, had them carefully preserved and again sorted and registered. By these and other commendable acts, he succeeded in gaining the esteem of the people, and in all likelihood would have been still more useful to the Colony had his stay been longer, but his administration closed in November, 1698. (*Beverly's Virginia*, I, 37; *Oldmixon*, I, 396–398.) In 1704, under Queen Anne, he was extraordinarily distinguished by having the government of Guernsey bestowed upon him, which he held for two years; he continued Bailiff until his death, and was empowered to appoint his Lieutenant-Bailiff, who was likewise authorized to name a deputy. Sir Edmund Andros was married three times. The second wife was of the family of Crispe, which, like his own, had been attached to the Royal house in its necessities. He closed his eventful life in the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, without issue, in February, 1713 (O. S.), in his 76th year.—*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, II, 740.

Note 3, *Page* 21.

WILLIAM PINHORNE had been a resident of New York previous to this time, and this was his return voyage from England. In May, 1683, he became the purchaser of the garden previously called Lovelace's Garden-house, in Broadway, N. Y., for which he paid the sum of forty pounds sterling. On the grant of a charter to the city by Governor Dongan, Mr. Pinhorne was named Alderman for the East Ward, and was elected Speaker of the Assembly which met in October, 1685. On the appointment of Sloughter to the government of New York, Mr. Pinhorne was named one of his Council, and subsequently member of the special commission which tried and condemned Leisler. In March, 1691, we find him appointed Recorder of the city of New York, and on the 5th May following, fourth justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. He held the office of Recorder until September 1, 1692, when he was removed from that, and his place in the Council, on account of non-residence. On 22d March, 1693, he became second justice of the Supreme Court, and having returned to the city of New York, was restored to his seat in the Council on 10th of June of the last mentioned year. Whilst in this situation he succeeded in securing for himself and others, an extravagant grant of land on the Mohawk river, west of Fort Hunter, fifty miles long and two miles on each side the river, at the rent of one beaver skin for the first seven years, and five beaver skins yearly for ever thereafter. But Lord Bellomont having arrived in 1698, power passed into the hands of the Leisler party, and Mr. Pinhorne was suspended, on the 7th June, from his offices of judge and councillor, on a charge of having "spoke most scandalous and reproachful words" of the King. This was followed in the course of the next year by an Act vacating his extravagant grant on the Mohawk. He now retired to his plantation on Snake Hill, on Hackensack river, N. J., and was next appointed second judge of the Supreme Court of that Province, of the Council of which he was also a member, and took his seat on the bench at Burlington in November, 1704. Here he shared all the obloquy which attached to his son-in-law, Chief Justice Mompesson. Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldesby having been removed from office, on the earnest application of the people, was succeeded by Mr. Pinhorne, who was at that time president of the Council, and who now exercised the power of commander-in-chief. The latter was superceded on the 10th June, 1710, by the arrival of Governor Hunter, and the Assembly soon after demanding his removal from all places of trust in the Province, he was dismissed in 1713. He died towards the close of 1719. Judge Pinhorne was married to Mary, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldesby, in virtue of whose will (dated 31 August, 1711), she and her children, Mary and John, became patentees of lands in the towns of Cornwall and New Windsor, Orange county, N. Y.—*N. Y. Colonial Docs.*, III, 716.

Note 4, *Page* 21.

JAMES GRAHAM was a native of Scotland, and is found a resident merchant of the city of New York as early as July, 1678, and a few years later, proprietor of lands in Ulster county, Staten Island, and in New Jersey. He succeeded Mr. Rudyard as Attorney-General of the Province of New York, on 10th of December, 1685, and was sworn of the Council on the 8th of October, 1687. When the government of New England and New York were consolidated by James II, Mr. Graham removed to Boston as Attorney-General to Andros, the odium of whose government he shared, and on whose downfall he was committed to the castle. He returned to New York in 1691, where his enemies assert that he insinuated himself into the confidence of Leisler and his friends, so as to procure their interest to be chosen member of the Assembly, of which he was afterwards elected Speaker. He became, soon after, the mortal enemy of Leisler and Milborne, of whose murder he is charged, by his adversaries, with being "the principal author." Thomas Newton, Sloughter's Attorney-General, having left the Province in April, 1691, disapproving, probably, of the harsh measures of the government towards the state prisoners, George Farewell was appointed to act in his place; but this appointment not being satisfactory to the Assembly, Mr. Graham became again Attorney-General in the following May. He was about nine years Speaker of the Assembly, i. e., from 1691–1694; 1695–1698, and a part of 1699, when the friends of Leisler being in a majority, the House voted a bill of indictment, in the shape of a remonstrance, against their opponents, and had the cruelty to expect their Speaker to sign it. To enable him to avoid this unpleasant duty, Mr. Graham was called to the Council in May, 1699. His public career may be said to have now closed. He appears to have attended the Council for the last time, on the 29th July, 1700. He was superseded in October, of that year, as Recorder of the city of New York, after having filled the office from 1683, with an interruption of only two years, and was deprived of his office of Attorney-General on the 21st January, 1701, but a few days before his death, which occurred at his residence at Morrisania. His will bears date 12th January, 1700–1, and is on record in the Surrogate's office, New York. He left all his property, share and share alike, to his children, Augustine (Surveyor-General of the Province), Isabella (wife of Lewis Morris, Esq.), Mary, Sarah, Margaret and John. The other members of the family consisted, in 1698, of one overseer, two white servants and thirty-three slaves.—*New York Colonial Documents*, IV, 847. On the 18th July, 1684, a license of Marriage was issued out of the Provincial Secretary's office, New York, for James Graham and Elizabeth Windebauke.—*N. Y. Colonial MSS.*, XXXIII, pt. ii, p. 32. But whether it refers to the Attorney-General whose biography is now sketched, we have no means of ascertaining.

Note 5, *Page* 21.

JOHN WEST had been a resident of New York during Governor Andros' first administration, and is found acting as a lawyer there as early as 1675. In the following year, he received the appointment of deputy clerk of the Mayor's court, and clerk of the Sessions for the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, and was employed in a legal capacity to assist the commission appointed to examine into the condition of Governor Lovelace's estate. He seems next to have gone back to England, but on returning to New York, is again found enjoying the confidence and patronage of the government, being employed as member of the Court of Admiralty at Nantucket; justice of the peace at Pemaquid, &c. In 1680 he received the appointment of clerk of the Council, Secretary of the Province, clerk to the Court of Assizes, and clerk of the city of New York, but in 1683, he was superseded by James Spragg as Provincial secretary and clerk of the Court of Assizes. The latter tribunal, however, was soon after abolished, but Mr. West retained his city appointment and received also that of clerk of the Sessions. In October, 1684, he married Anne Rudyard, daughter of the Lieutenant-Governor of East Jersey, and in 1685 was commissioned to claim Westfield, Northampton, Deerfield and other towns on the west side of Connecticut river, for the Duke of York. When Sir Edmund Andros, his patron, returned to power in 1686-7, Mr. West accompanied him to Boston; there he farmed from Edward Randolph the office of secretary, in which capacity he extorted what fees he pleased, to the great oppression of the people, and thus aided in rendering the government odious. On the overthrow of that government, West was seized and committed to the castle at Boston. Many of the charges against him are given in the tract entitled "The Revolution of New England Justified." After a protracted confinement, it appears that he was shipped off to England in 1690. Of his subsequent career I have no knowledge; but I apprehend that he did not long survive his downfall. His widow afterwards became the wife of Robert Wharton.—The above details are collected from the *N. Y. Records* in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany; *Byfield's Account of the late Revolution; N. Y. Colonial Documents*, III; and *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts.*

Note 6, *page* 21.

PETER HEYLIN, D. D., was born in Burford, Oxfordshire, on 29th Nov., 1599, and in 1613 entered Hart Hall, Oxford; took the degree of B. A. in 1617, and was chosen Fellow in 1619. Having already given a course of lectures on Cosmography, he composed his Microcosmus, which was published in 1621, 4to (*Watts*); 1622 (*Wood*) small 4to. He received holy orders in 1623, and in 1624-5, a second edition of his Microcosmus appeared, with augmentations and

corrections. He visited France in 1625, and on his return wrote an account of his journey, which was published some 30 years subsequent to his visit. In 1627, a third edition of the Microcosmus was published. In 1629 he was nominated one of the king's chaplains, and in 1631 made rector of Henningford, Huntingdonshire, and a prebend of Westminster. The year following, he obtained the rich living of Houghton in the Spring, which he changed for Ailresford, Hampshire; in 1633 proceeded to D. D., and in 1638, exchanged for South Warnborough, Hants. On the breaking out of the civil war, Dr. Heylin abandoned his rectories and followed the king to Oxford, where he became one of the editors of the Weekly Newspaper, called the *Mercurius Aulicus*, then published on the royal side. In 1643, his property was sequestered by order of the Parliament, and he thus lost his incomparable library. Now he was obliged to shift from place to place to escape his enemies, and finally settled down in Minster Level, where he was forced "to the earning of money by writing books." Here, he prepared the first folio edition of his Cosmography, which was published in 1652. He next removed to Abendon, in order to have easier access to libraries, for he found it (he says) as difficult to make books without books, as the Israelites, to make bricks without straw. At length, at the restoration, this worthy old loyalist was restored to his spiritualities. Though the list of Dr. Heylin's works is considerable, he is best known in this country by his "Cosmographie." It was the last book that its author wrote with his own hand (in 1651), for after it was finished, his eyes failed him so that he could neither see to write nor read, and was forced to employ an amanuensis. At length, after a life chequered by adversity and prosperity, he paid his last debt to nature on Ascension day, the 8th of May, 1662, and was buried within the choir of St. Peter's Church, Westminster. A copy of the inscription on his monument is in *Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, and a list of his works is in *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* II, 183, *et seq.*

Note 7, *page* 21.

Richard Nicolls was the fourth son of Francis Nicolls, who is described in a pedigree of the family entered in the Heralds' College in 1628, as "of the Middle Temple, one of the Squiers of the Bath to Sir Edward Bruse, and lyeth buried at Ampthill, co. Bedford." His mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, Knt., the lineal ancestor of the present Earl of Elgin, and younger brother of Sir Edward Bruce, the favorite servant of James I, and his Master of the Rolls. Richard Nicolls was born in the year 1624, probably at Ampthill, at which place his father was buried in the same year. Ampthill great park was a royal chase, the custody of which was granted, in 1613, by King James I, to Thomas, Lord Bruce, whose son, Robert Bruce, was created in 1664 Viscount Bruce of Ampthill, and Earl of Aylesbury. In the seventeenth

century the Nicollses were for many years lessees of Ampthill Park under the Bruce family, and resided at the Great Lodge, or Capital Mansion, as it is called in the survey of 1649. Here Richard Nicolls passed his boyhood under the charge of his mother, who survived her husband, and remained a widow until her death in 1652. He had two brothers, who survived their father, the one, Edward, ten years, and the other, Francis, five years older than himself. His only sister, Bruce, was thirteen years of age at the time of his birth, and was married shortly after to John Frecheville (son and heir apparent of Sir John Frecheville of Staveley, co. Derby, Knt.), who, in 1664, was created Baron Frecheville of Staveley. She died in 1629, without issue, at the age of eighteen.

The breaking out of the civil war in 1642 found Richard Nicolls at the university, where, if we can accept the testimony of the epitaph on his monument in Ampthill church, he acquired some distinction in his studies. He was not permitted, however, to pursue this career; but in 1643, at the youthful age of eighteen, he was called away to take part in the civil war, which was then actively waging. As might be supposed from his connections, the sympathies and affections of Richard Nicolls were engaged on the royal side. His mother was one of the family—itself connected with the royal line—which had been caressed and enriched by King James. His uncle, Dr. William Nicolls, a dignitary of the English Church, was indebted to the favor of King Charles for his preferments, having been presented in 1623 to the living of Cheadle in Chester, by Charles, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, to whom the presentation had fallen by lapse, and was advanced in 1644 to the Deanery of Chester.

Richard Nicolls joined the royal forces, in which he received the command of a troop of horse. Each of his brothers commanded a company of infantry on the same side, and distinguished himself by his devotion to the royal cause; but the favor which their services gained them was more honorable than advantageous. They shared the exile of the royal family, and following their banished king in his wanderings, Edward, the elder brother, died at Paris, and Francis at the Hague. During the period following the death of King Charles, when the royal family remained in Paris, Richard Nicolls was attached to the service of James, Duke of York, whose attendants, as we learn from Clarendon, shared in a more than ordinary degree in the distresses, and also in the disorder and faction which prevailed in the banished court. In the spring of 1652, the Duke of York obtained the permission of his brother and his council to join the army under the Marshal Turenne, then engaged in the war of the Fronde. Richard Nicolls accompanied him, and had thus an opportunity, to adopt the words of the Cardinal Mazarin in proposing to the queen to send her son to the wars, of "learning his *mestier*, under a general reputed equal to any captain in Christendom." The duke afterwards served upon the other side under Don John of Austria and the Prince de Conde, and we may conjecture that he was followed throughout these campaigns by Nicolls, who, on the re-

turn of the royal family to their country in 1660, was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to the duke.

In 1664, war with Holland being then imminent, the king granted to his brother the Duke of York, the country in North America then occupied by the Dutch Settlement of New Netherland. The grant to the Duke of York is dated the 12th of March, 1664, and it comprises Long Island, and "all the land from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay, and the islands known by the names of Martin's Vineyard or Nantucks, otherwise Nantucket." Part of this tract was conveyed away by the duke to Lord Berkeley of Stratton and George Carteret of Saltrum, co. Devon, by lease and release dated the 22d and 23d of June, 1664, and received the name of New Jersey from its connection with the Carteret family.

Letters patent were issued on the 25th of April, 1664, appointing Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, Knt., George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, Esquires, Commissioners, with power for them, or any three or two of them, or the survivors of them, of whom Colonel Richard Nichols, during his life, should be always one, and should have a casting vote, to visit all the colonies and plantations within the tract known as New England, and "to heare and determine all complaints and appeales in all causes and matters, as well military as criminal and civil, and proceed in all things for the providing for and settleing the peace and security of the said country according to their good and sound discretion, and to such instructions as they or the successors of them have, or shall from time to time receive for us in that behalfe, and from time to time to certify us or our privy councel of their actings and proceedings touching the premisses."

The instructions furnished to Colonel Nicolls respecting his proceedings with the Dutch, required him to reduce them to the same obedience with the king's subjects in those parts, without using any other violence than was necessary to those ends; and if necessary, "to use such force as could not be avoided for their reduction, they having no kind of right to hold what they are in possession of in our unquestionable territories, than that they are possessed of by an invasion of Us."

The expedition under Nicolls set sail from Portsmouth in June, 1664. It consisted of four frigates, and about 300 soldiers. Colonel Nicolls, on board the Guyny, arrived at Boston on the 27th July, and required assistance towards reducing the Dutch. The council of the town agreed to furnish 200 men, but the object was effected by Nicolls before this force joined him. On the 20th August, his force being now collected at Long Island, Nicolls summoned the Dutch governor to surrender. Stuyvesant, the governor, would willingly have defended the town, but there was no disposition in the burghers to support him; and a capitulation was signed on 27th by Commissioners on each side, and confirmed by Nicolls. In the course of the next month, Sir Ro-

bert Carr and Col. Cartwright reduced all the remaining Dutch settlements in New Netherland.

Upon the reduction of New Amsterdam, Nicolls assumed the government of the province, now called New York, under the style of "Deputy-Governor under his royal highness the Duke of York, of all his territories in America." The American authorities are generally agreed that his rule, though somewhat arbitrary, was honest and salutary. English forms and methods of government were gradually introduced; and in June, 1665, the scout, burgomasters and schepens of the Dutch municipality were superseded by a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff. His administration lasted three years, and his mode of proceeding is thus summed up by William Smith, the historian of New York: "He erected no courts of justice, but took upon himself the sole decision of all controversies whatever. Complaints came before him by petition; upon which he gave a day to the parties, and after a summary hearing, pronounced judgment. His determinations were called edicts, and executed by the sheriffs he had appointed. It is much to his honor, that, notwithstanding all this plenitude of power, he governed the province with integrity and moderation. A representation from the inhabitants of Long Island to the General Court of Connecticut, made about the time of the Revolution, commends him, as a man of an easy and benevolent disposition; and this is the more to be relied upon, because the design of the writers was, by a detail of their grievances, to induce the colony of Connecticut to take them under its immediate protection." In a letter to the Duke of York, dated November, 1665, Colonel Nicolls thus expresses himself: "My endeavors have not been wanting to put the whole government into one frame and policy, and now the most factious republicans can not but acknowledge themselves fully satisfied with the way and method they are in."

Nicolls returned to England in 1667, and resumed his position in the Duke of York's household. In 1672 war was again proclaimed against the Dutch. The distinction between the land and sea services was not then established, and several landsmen volunteered to serve in the fleet, which was commanded by the Duke of York, the Earl of Sandwich, and the Count D'Estrees. Among these volunteers were several of the Lord High Admiral's household, and among the number Colonel Richard Nicolls. In the engagement which took place at Solebay, on the 28th of May, 1672, in which Lord Sandwich lost his life by the blowing up of the ship which he commanded, Colonel Nicolls, with Sir John Fox, the Captain of the Royal Prince, in which he sailed, and others of the volunteers, was also killed. His age at the time of his death was forty-seven.

Colonel Nicolls left no legitimate issue, and, I believe, was never married. His will, dated the 1st of May, 1672, on board the Royal Prince at the Nore, was proved by his executors in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in the following June. He desires to be buried at Ampthill, and alms to be given to

the parishes through which his funeral would pass, and a marble monument to be erected to his memory, with an inscription mentioning his father and mother, his brother William, and his brothers Edward and Francis, the one dead at the Hague, the other at Paris during the late usurpation; and his executors might add what they pleased about his own services in America and elsewhere. He prays his executors to be "earnest solicitors with his Highness for the money due to him."

His executors fulfilled his injunctions by erecting a white marble monument to his memory in the north-east corner of the chancel of Ampthill church, in the upper part of which the cannon ball which caused his death is enclosed, with the words "*Instrumentum mortis et immortalitatis.*" The inscription on the monument is as follows:

M. S.
Optimis parentibus nunc tumulo conjunctus
Pietate semper conjunctissimus
Hic jacet
Richardus Nicolls Francisci Istius ex Margar. Bruce
filius,
Illimo Jacobo Duci Ebor. a Cubiculis intimis;
Anno 1643, relictis musarum castris,
Turmam equestrem contra rebelles duxit.
Juvenis strenuus atque impiger.
Anno 1664, ætate jam et scientia militari maturus,
In AMERICAM
Septentrionalem cum imperio missus
Longam I's'lam cœterasque insulas
Belgis expulsis vero Domino restituit,
Provinciam arcesque munitissimas
Heri sui titulis insignivit,
Et triennio pro preside rexit
Academia Literis
Bello Virtute
Aula Candore animi
Magistratu Prudentia
Celebris,
ubique bonis charus, sibi et negotiis par.
28 Maii 1672
nave prætoria contra eosd. Belgas
fortiter dimicans,
ictu globi majoris transfossus occubuit.
Fratres habuit,
præter Gulielmum præcoci fato defunctum,
Edvardum et Franciscum
utrumque copiarum pedestrium centurionem,
Qui fœdæ et servilis tyrannidis
quæ tunc Angliam oppresserat impatientes,
exilio prælato (si modo regem extorrem sequi exil: sit)
alter Parisiis, alter Haga comitis,
ad cœlestem patriam migrârunt.

Above are the Nicolls arms: Azure, a fess between three lions' heads or; Crest, a tiger sejant.—2 *Notes and Queries*, III, 214; *Nichols's Topographer and Genealogist*, III, 539–544.

Note 8, *page* 22.

Mere discovery of a country, not followed by actual possession, confers no title. This principle of public law was laid down and acted upon by Elizabeth, Queen of England, as far back as 1580, when resisting the exclusive pretensions of Spain to the New World. "As she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by donation of the Bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers, or capes, were such insignificant things as could in no ways entitle them to a propriety, farther than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit."* The right derived from the Cabots, which had not even the plea of "having touched here and there on a coast" to support it, thus falling to the ground—for what was good as against Spain for England, must be admitted good also against the latter for the Dutch—the only remaining title in favor of England to this continent rests on the colonization of Virginia. This did not extend farther north than the Chesapeake or James river. Actual settlement and continual habitation, which Queen Elizabeth laid down as necessary to make out a title, were, therefore, wanting to establish the English right to the country first discovered and now actually possessed by the Dutch. To call these "intruders," was, in the words of Louis XIV, "a species of mockery;" they had as good a right to reclaim the American wilderness as any other European power, and so long as they could show all the prerequisites insisted on by England in 1580 to establish a title, theirs must be considered unobjectionable. This view of the case is only strengthened by an examination of the New England patent, granted by James I to the Plymouth Company. This charter conveyed all the country from forty to forty-eight degrees of north latitude, with this express reservation, however: "Provided, always, that the said islands, or any of the said premises hereinbefore mentioned, . . . be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or Estate." The Dutch had actual possession of New Netherland many years before the issue of this patent, and the reservation in favor of the rights of others which that document contains, was a full and perfect acknowledgment of the soundness of their title.†—*O'Callaghan's History of New Netherland*, II, 343-4.

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* Camden, Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Annales, regnante Elizabetha, 8vo. Leyden, 1639, p. 328. "Proscriptio sine possessione haud valeat," was the principle laid down in this case.

† See Patent in Hazard, I, 111. Consult further, "A State and Representation of the Bounds of the Province of New York against the claim of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay," &c., in the Journals of the New York Prov. Assembly; also, Lettres du Comte d'Estrades, Lond. 8vo. 1748, III, 340, for the letter of the King of France, in which he states that after examination of both sides of the question, the right of the Dutch to the country is, in his estimation, the best established—"le mieux fondé."

Note 9, *page* 22.

SEBASTIAN CABOT, an eminent navigator, was the son of John Cabot, a Venetian. The place of his birth has been a subject for some difference of opinion; some claiming the honor for Venice; others, for Bristol, England. In 1497, when about twenty years of age, he accompanied his father in the voyage in which the continent of the New World was discovered. In the year 1498, he made another voyage to this continent, which he reached somewhere between the 55th and 67th degrees of latitude, when he sailed south and returned home. About the year 1517 he sailed on another voyage of discovery, and went to the Brazils, and thence to Hispaniola and Porto Rico. Failing in his object of finding a way to the East Indies, he returned to England. Having been invited to Spain, where he was received in the most respectful manner by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, he made a voyage of discovery in April, 1525; visited the coast of Brazil, and entered a great river, to which he gave the name of Rio de la Plata. He sailed up this river one hundred and twenty leagues. After being absent on this expedition a number of years, he returned to Spain in the spring of 1531. He made other voyages, of which no particular memorials remain. His residence was at the city of Seville. His employment as Chief Pilot was the drawing of charts, on which he delineated all the new discoveries made by himself and others; and, by his office, he was entrusted with the reviewing of all projects for discovery. His character is said to have been gentle, friendly, and social, though in his voyages some instances of injustice towards the natives and of severity towards his mariners, are recorded. In his advanced age he returned to England; received a pension from Edward VI, and was appointed governor of a company of merchants, associated for the purpose of making discoveries. He had a strong persuasion that a passage might be found to China by the northeast. By his means a trade was commenced with Russia, which gave rise to the Russian company. The last account of him is, that in 1556, when the company were sending out a vessel for discovery, he made a visit on board. "The good old gentleman, master Cabota," says the journal of the voyage in Hakluyt, "gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of our pinnace. And then at the sign of St. Christopher, he and his friends banqueted, and for very joy, that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God." He died shortly afterwards, at the age of 80 years, but the place where he was buried is not known. He was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. There is preserved in Hakluyt a complete set of instructions, drawn and signed by Cabot, for the direction of the voyage to Cathay in

China, which affords the clearest proof of his sagacity. It is supposed that he was the first who noticed the variations of the magnetic needle. He published also a large map, which was engraved by Clement Adams, and hung up in the gallery at Whitehall; and on this map was inscribed a Latin account of the discovery of Newfoundland.—*Belknap's Amer. Biog.*, I, 149–158; *Mass. Mag.*, II, 467–471; *Hakluyt*, I, 226, 268, 274; *Campbell's Admirals*, I, 419; *Rees' Cyclopedia; Petri Martyr. De Novo Orbe, Paris*, 1587, pp. 232, 589; *Bancroft's Hist. U. States*, I, 7–14; 2 *Notes and Queries*, V, 1, 154, 193, 263, 285.

Note 10, *page* 22.

Sir JOHN VAUGHAN, Kt., was born in Cardiganshire in 1608, and educated at Worcester school and at Christchurch, Oxford, whence he removed to the Inner Temple, where he contracted an intimacy with Selden, who made him one of his executors. During the Rebellion, he led a retired life, but at the Restoration was elected to Parliament for Cardiganshire. In 1668, he became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and died in 1674. His reports and arguments were published in 1677, by his son, Edward Vaughan, Esq., in 1 vol. folio.

Note 11, *page* 22.

The precise Latitude of the City Hall, New York, is 40 deg., 42 min., 43 sec.; Longitude west from Greenwich Observatory, 74 deg., 3 sec. See *Map B, No. 2, Hudson River* (lower sheet); accompanying *Report of the U. S. Coast Survey during the year* 1855. Washington: Nicholson. 1856.

Note 12, *page* 22.

RICHARD NORWOOD is principally famous for having been one of the first who measured a degree of the Meridian. He wrote Trignometry, or Doctrine of Triangles; Fortification; the Seaman's Practice; Epitome and Logarithmic Tables; also, Letters and Papers in the Philosophical Transactions on the Tides and on the Whale Fishery.

ANDREW NORWOOD his son had been a resident of the West Indies, and communicated to the Royal Society, in 1668, "Observations in Jamaica." He seems to have immigrated to New York before the assumption of the government by Sir Edmund Andros; for, in March, 1672, an order was issued to lay out two towns or townships on Staten Island, and in September following he received a grant of one hundred and fifty acres of land on the shore of Staten Island, near the present Quarantine ground. On the 29th of September, 1676, this grant was increased by Governor Andros to three hundred and ninety-seven acres. In September, 1677, he received an additional grant of twenty-five acres, making his farm four hundred and twenty acres in all.—*N. Y. Patents.* In 1677 he was appointed surveyor of that locality, as appears by the following

Commission for Mr. Andrew Norwood to be Surveyor for Staten Island.

By the Governor.

These are to authorize and Appoint you Mr. Andrew Norwood to be Surveyor of Staten Island, where you are to Survey and lay out such Lotts or Parcels of land, as you shall be employed about, of which to make due returnes according to Law, And in all matters relating thereunto to behave yourselfe according to the duty and place of Surveyor. Given under my hand in New Yorke, this 12th day of November, 1677.

E. ANDROS. S.

N. Y. Warrants, Orders, Passes, &c., 1674–1678, XXXII, 291.

It appears that Mr. Norwood returned to, and died in, the West Indies; for, I find that his will, dated 24th of April, 1684, was admitted to probate in the island of St. Christopher. In virtue of this will, the above mentioned property on Staten Island, came into the possession of his son, Henry Norwood of Jamaica, who sold it in 1697, to Antony Bigg of Port Royal, for the sum of £300 Jamaica currency. Biggs sold the property to John Stout of the same place, in 1698, for an advance of about £10.—*N. Y. Deed Book*, IX, 584. This transaction will, when compared with present prices, afford an opportunity of forming an idea of the advance in value of real estate on Staten Island.

Note 13, *page* 22.

Philip Wells. The earliest notice that I can find of this gentleman is in the year 1675, when he was authorized to receive the county rates in the absence of Sheriff Salisbury, who had gone to England. Hence it is inferred, that he came to New York in 1674 with Governor Andros, whose "Steward" he is said to have been. In 1676, he was appointed receiver of the debts due to the late Dutch West India Company, and is next called "Commissary to the Garrison of Fort James at New York," in which capacity he is empowered to draw from the collector of that city such duties as that officer might receive, in order to support the garrison and pay other expenses of government. On the 26th Nov., 1680, Mr. Wells was appointed Surveyor. He became, in 1684, Surveyor-General of the Province and held that office until 1687. He was one of the commissioners who ran the boundary line between Connecticut and New York in 1684, and being a landed proprietor on Staten Island, is found in the commission of the peace for the county of Richmond in 1685. In 1686, he was appointed surveyor on the part of New York, to determine, with similar functionaries on the behalf of East and West Jersey, the most northerly branch of the Delaware river, and to run a line between these three provinces. No line, however, was actually run. The instructions to "Philip Wells, Esq., Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Province of New York," are in *N. Y. Council Minutes*, V. It was on the occasion of this commission, we presume, that he observed the declination of the magnetic needle, as mentioned by Kalm in his notice of

New York. On quitting the office of Surveyor-General, Mr. Wells retired to Staten Island, where we find him residing in 1694.—*N. Y. State Records.*

Note 14, *page* 23.

Sir Henry Wotton was born at Bocton Hall, Kent, and educated at Winchester and Oxford. He subsequently became secretary to the Earl of Essex, but on the fall of that nobleman, retired to the continent. He returned to England on the accession of James I, by whom he was knighted, and sent Ambassador to Venice, and several other courts. He was afterwards appointed Provost of Eton, took holy orders, and died in 1639. These words are engraved on his tomb: Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus auctor: Disputandi pruritus, ecclesiæ scabies. Nomen alias quære. He wrote, The State of Christendom; Elements of Architecture; Parallels between Essex and Buckingham; Characters of some of the Kings of England; Essays on Education; Poems, printed in the Reliquiæ Wottoniæ; Two Apologies relating to his Album Aphorism: An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country. Some of his religious poems are exquisitely beautiful; that written On a Bed of Sickness, has never been surpassed.—*Rose.* Sir Dudley Carleton gave him the soubriquet of Fabritio.—2 *Notes and Queries*, VII, 375.

Note 15, *page* 24.

George Hakewell, D. D., was born in Exeter, England, in 1578, and received the rudiments of his education in that city. He entered Oxford as a commoner in 1595, and in two years after was elected a Fellow of Exeter college. Having received holy orders he traveled on the continent of Europe, and in 1610, received his divinity degree. In 1611, he was appointed chaplain to Prince Charles, and archdeacon of Surrey in 1616. He subsequently opposed the marriage of the Infanta of Spain with the Prince, in consequence of which he was dismissed from his chaplaincy in 1621. He afterwards was appointed rector of Heanton, Devonshire, and in 1641 was elected rector of Exeter college. On the civil war breaking out, he gave in his submission to parliament, and spent the remainder of his days in retirement at Heanton, where he died in the beginning of April, 1649. His remains were deposited in the chancel of his church, and over his grave a stone was laid with this Inscription: Reliquiæ Georgii Hakewell, S. Th. D. Archidiaconi Surriæ, collegii Exoniensis et hujus Ecclesiæ Rectoris, in spem resurrectionis hic repositæ sunt, An. 1649. ætatis suæ 72. A list of his works is in *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*, II, 66. The most important of his writings is: An Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, 1627, folio. The learning exhibited in this work is very extensive.—*Rose, Biog. Dict.*, VIII, 174.

Note 16, *page* 27.

WILLIAM ASHFORDBY is supposed to have come to this country in 1664. In 1676 he obtained a patent for one hundred and eight acres of land in Marbletown (Ulster co.), in the neighborhood of "the Indian graves." On the 21st of December, 1684, he was appointed High Sheriff of Ulster county, and obtained a further grant of eighty-seven acres and a half of land in the rear of the tract first above mentioned. Yet with all this, whether through want of thrift or of industry, Mr. Ashfordby did not prosper. He became considerably indebted; had to mortgage his property, and in 1687, the High Sheriff of Ulster county "went for England," leaving behind him his debts and a wife and family. In August, 1695, a petition was presented to the Governor and Council of New York, from his wife Martha, in behalf of herself and five children, John Bettis and Susannah his wife, Mary, Helen, Ann, and Catherine Ashfordby, setting forth the fact of his absconding, and praying a grant of the last mentioned tract, for herself and children. She received a patent accordingly. Mr. Ashfordby having left no male issue, the name has become extinct in Ulster co.—*N. Y. Patents*, IV, 51, VI, 539; *N. Y. Col. MSS.*, XXX, 61, XXXI, iii, 83, XL, 56; *Council Minutes*, VII, 153.

Note 17, *page* 27.

SOPUS, or Esopus, lies on the west side of the Hudson river, 90 miles north of the city of New York. The name belonged originally to the river which discharges into the Hudson at this point, and is a modification of the Algonquin word *Sipous*, the literal signification of which, is "River." The first Dutch adventurers traded with the Indians here as early as 1614, and though that trade was carried on continuously afterwards, there is no evidence of any improvement having been made thereabouts before 1652–3. The neglect of the government to extinguish the Indian title to the land before parcelling it out to actual settlers, led to two wars with the Aborigines, and greatly retarded the advancement of the place, which was not erected into a municipality until 1661, when the district went by the Dutch name of *Wiltwyck*, or Indianville. Governor Lovelace, however, was the chief promoter of the settlement of the Esopus. For, orders having been given to disband the soldiers who had accompanied Colonel Nicolls to this country, gratuitous grants of land were made to them in 1668, and two new towns planted. On the 18th September, 1669, by the governor's orders, one was called "Marbleton" and the other "Hurley;" the latter, after the seat of the Lovelace family in Berkshire, England. On the 25th of the same month, *Wiltwyck*, or "the towne formerly called Sopez, was named KINGSTON;" some suppose out of respect to the king; others, however, are of opinion that the name was borrowed from that of Kingston L'Isle, Berk-

shire, the seat of the first Lady Lovelace's family. When the Dutch recovered the country in 1673, the name of Kingston was changed to *Swaenenburgh*, and so continued until the English returned under Governor Andros, in 1674. The district was organized into a distinct county in 1683, by an act of the Provincial Legislature, and was called Ulster, to commemorate the Irish title of the Duke of York, who was Earl of Ulster in the peerage of Ireland.—*O'Callaghan's Hist. New Netherland; N. Y. Colonial MSS.*, XXII, 99; *Laws of New York;* see Note 16 *supra.*

Note 18, *page* 27.

William Harvey, M. D., famous for his discovery of the Circulation of the Blood, was born in Folkestone, Kent, 2d April, 1578. Having finished his education at Cambridge, he passed through several celebrated medical schools on the continent, took his degree in 1602, and commenced practice in London, where he made his great discovery about the year 1619. He afterwards became physician to James I and Charles I. On the breaking out of the civil war he retired to Richmond, and in 1651 appeared his second immortal work: Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium. 4to. This great man died 3d July, 1658, in the 80th year of his age. A monument has been erected to his memory at Hempstead in Essex. A splendid quarto edition of all his works was published by the College of Physicians in 1766, to which a life of the author is prefixed.—*Rose.*

Note 19, *page* 27.

George Carew, was the son of the dean of Exeter and Windsor, of the same name. Adopting the profession of arms, he was in the expedition to Cadiz, in 1588-9, and afterwards served with great reputation in Ireland, where he was made President of Munster, when, uniting his forces with those of the Earl of Thomond, he reduced several castles and strong places, and obtained many triumphs. He was likewise a privy councillor in that kingdom. Upon the accession of James I, he was constituted lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and governor of the Isle of Guernsey, and having married Joyce, only daughter and heiress of William Clopton, Esq., of Clopton in the county of Warwick, was elevated to the peerage, on the 4th June, 1605, as Baron Carew. He was made master-general of the ordnance in 1609, and sworn of the privy council, and in 1625 created Earl of Totness. "Besides," says Dugdale, "these his noble employments, 'tis not a little observable, that, being a great lover of antiquities, he wrote an historical account of all those memorable passages, which hapned in Ireland, during the term of those three years, he continued there, intituled *Hibernia Pacata*, printed at London, in 1633, and that he made an ample collection of many chronological and choice observations, as also of

divers exact maps, relating to sundry parts of that realm, some whereof are now in the public library at Oxford, but most of them in the hands of Sir Robert Shirley, Bart., of Stanton Harold, in the county of Leicester, bought of his executors." His lordship died 27th March, 1629, at the Savoy in the Strand, "in the suburbs of London," leaving an only daughter and heiress.—*Burke; Beatson.*

Note 20, *page* 28.

Charles Blount, eighth Baron Mountjoy of Thurveston, in the county of Derby, succeeded to the title on the death of his brother in 1594. This nobleman, when a commoner, being a person of high military reputation, had a command in the fleet which defeated the famous Spanish Armada, and a few years afterwards succeeded the Earl of Sussex in the governorship of Portsmouth. In 1597, his lordship was constituted Lieutenant of Ireland; and in two years afterwards repulsed the Spaniards, with great gallantry, at Kinsale. Upon the accession of James I, he was reinvested with the same important office, and created, by letters patent, dated 21st July, 1603, Earl of Devonshire, being made at the same time a Knight of the most noble order of the Garter. The high public character of the earl was, however, considerably tarnished by one act of his private life, the seduction of Penelope, sister of the Earl of Essex, and wife of Robert, Lord Rich. By this lady he had several children; and upon his return from Ireland, finding her divorced from her husband, he married her, at Wanstead in Essex, on the 26th of December, 1605, the ceremony being performed by his chaplain, Wiliam Laud, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury. Camden says, that this nobleman was so eminent for valor and learning, that in those respects, "he had no superior, and but few equals," and his secretary Moryson, writes, "that he was beautiful in person as well as valiant; and learned as well as wise." His lordship died on the 3d April, 1606, and leaving no legitimate issue, all his honors became extinct.—*Burke, Ext. and Dorm. Peerage.*

Note 21, *Page* 29.

Aberginians. The several scattered tribes from the Pockanockets of Plymouth colony to the Piscataqua river, were called Northern Indians, and by some Aberginians.—*Hutchinson's Mass.*, I, 407. The name enters into Mr. Gallatin's vocabulary as an Indian word (*Synopsis of Indian Tribes*, 312), but it seems to be rather a corruption of Aborigines.

Note 22, *page* 30.

William Camden, a learned antiquary, was born in the Old Bailey, London, on the 2d May, 1551. He received the first rudiments of knowledge at Christchurch Hospital, and was afterwards sent to Dr. Colet's free school, near St.

Paul's. In 1566, he was sent to the university at Oxford, where he remained until 1571, when he returned to London. In 1575 he obtained the place of second master of Westminster school. He now devoted himself to his favorite studies, and in 1582 brought out his Britannia: sive Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, and Insularum adjacentium Descriptio; 8vo.; Maps. In 1593, he was made head master of Westminster school, and published a Greek Grammar in 1597. The first part of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth appeared in 1615, under this title—Rerum Anglicarum and Hibernicarum Annales regnante Elizabetha; the second half followed in 1627, after the author's death; both were published in London in folio. After passing through several editions, this work was translated into English and printed also in folio. After a life of great literary industry and labor, he paid his last debt to nature at Chiselhurst, Kent, on the 9th November, 1623. His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, where a monument, with a suitable inscription, was erected to his memory. A full list of Camden's works will be found in *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* I, 412.

Note 23, *page* 30.

Stephen Skinner, M. D., was born in or near London in 1623, and entered Christ church, Oxon, in 1638, but before he could obtain a degree, the rebellion broke out, so that he was obliged to resort to the continent to continue his studies. In 1646, he returned to Oxford and took both the degrees in arts, and subsequently received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the university of Heidelberg, and was admitted *ad eundem* by the university at Oxford, in 1664, in which year he settled at Lincoln, where he practised his profession. He died in that city on the 5th September, 1667, and was buried in the cathedral. His works were published in one folio volume at London, in 1671, with this title: Etymologicon linguæ Anglicanæ, under the care and superintendence of Mr. Thomas Henshaw, a learned critic.—*Wood's Athen. Oxon.* II, 287.

Note 24, *page* 33.

For an interesting account of Indian currency, the reader is referred to Denton's Brief Description of New York: formerly called New Netherland. New York: Gowans, 1845. 8vo p. 42.

Note 25, *page* 34.

The following clippings from newspapers, show the prices of Negro slaves in this country in 1859:

Sale of Negroes—High Prices.—Twenty-eight negroes were sold on Tuesday last, at McDonough, in Henry county, Va. The aggregate amount of the

sales was $22,309, being an average of $796. We select the following from the list, as an evidence of the high prices paid: One boy, field hand, 18 years old, $1,640; three boys, 14 years old—one $1,440, one $1,282, another $1,207; two boys, 10 years old—one $902, the other $806; one 7 years old, $726, one woman, 23 years old, with three boys—one 5 years, one 3 years, and one 8 months, $1,995; one woman, 23 years old, with two children—a boy 3 years, a girl 18 months old, $2,305; seven girls sold at the following prices—one 19 years old, $1,200; one 15 years, $1,023; one 16 years, $1,100; one 12 years, $400; one 7 years, $705; one 7 years, $778.—*Atlanta American.*

Prices at Richmond, July 25: No. 1 men, 20 to 26 years old, from $1,450 to $1,500; best grown girls, 17 to 20 years old, from $1,275 to $1,325; girls from 15 to 17 years old, $1,150 to $1,250; girls from 12 to 15 years old, $1,000 to $1,100; best plough boys, 17 to 20 years old, $1,350 to $1,425; boys from 15 to 17 years old, $1,250 to $1,375; boys from 12 to 15 years old, $1,100 to $1,200.

Price of Slaves in Missouri.—At a sale of slaves that took place last Monday, says the St. Louis *Republican* of the 20th inst., at Bowling Green in this state, the following prices were obtained: Negro man, 50 years old, $845; do., 55, $795, negro woman, 60, $195; do., 40, 801; negro girl, 13, $1,187; do., 10, $900; do., 6, $535.

Note 26, *page* 36.

Adam de Marisco, a native of Somerset, England, was a Franciscan monk and a doctor at Oxford, and acquired such a great reputation in the thirteenth century, by his learning, as to be surnamed *Doctor Illustratus.* In Italy, he was on intimate terms with, and greatly esteemed by, St. Anthony of Padua, and in England much thought of by Robert Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, 1235–1254. He was named bishop of Ely circa 1256, but declined the dignity on learning that the pope had already nominated Hugh de Balsham to that see. He wrote on The Song of Songs; Questions of Theology; Paraphrases on St. Denis, the Areopagite; and died in, or about the year 1257.—*Moreri, Grand Dict. Hist.; Luiscius, Algem. Wordenboek.*

Note 27, *page* 36.

Tamahican is a word common to most of the Algonquin dialects. Its root may perhaps be found in the verb *ehouen*, to strike, or knock.—*Mithridates*, III, iii, 354. "Tomahawk" is the Indian word anglicized.

Note 28, *Page* 36.

Henry Somerset, 1st Marquis of Worcester, was the son of Edward, 4th Earl of Somerset, to whose honors he succeeded in 1628. He was a nobleman of great piety and parts, and one of the richest of the English peers. He spent

his fortune in the service of Charles I, for whom he defended the castle of Ragland against the rebels till the conclusion of the war, when it was surrendered on terms (August, 1646), which, however, were basely violated, and his lordship died a prisoner, in December of the same year. The Marquis of Worcester had early embraced the Catholic faith, and there appeared after his death, "Certamen Religiosum, or a Conference between King Charles I. and Henry late Marquis of Worcester, concerning religion;" "The Golden Apothegms of King Charles I. and Henry Marquis of Worcester." He was father of Edward, 2d Marquis of Worcester, famous for his connection with the discovery of the Power of Steam, and How to Sail against Wind and Tide, which Horace Walpole enumerates among "the amazing pieces of folly."—*Noble Authors*, p. 371, 378.

Note 29, *page* 37.

KINTAUKAUNS. Much ignorance prevails regarding the Indian *Kintacaws*. Some esteem them to have been debauched revels or bacchanalia, and hold them in horror, supposing them to be something akin to devil worship. Those who had the curiosity to investigate the matter, have given such accounts of the conduct of the Indians, on these occasions, as naturally lead to the conclusion that they paid a joint homage and supplication to some invisible being. The word is derived from the Delaware *Gentekehen*, to dance; and here it is supposed lies the key of the mystery. The Indians, it is well known, accompanied, if not celebrated, all their public acts or events by dances. Van der Donck, writing on the subject of the amusements of those people, says: "The old and middle aged conclude with smoking, and the young with a *kintacaw*." It was not restricted to any particular season of the year. During the Esopus war there was a *kintecaw* at the *Danskamer*, above Newburgh, in the month of August, "so that the woods rang again;" in another instance an Indian desired to be permitted to dance the *kintecaw*, before being put to death; and another having been led out to the place of execution, "danced the *kintekaye* all the way thither." The "Kintacaw," thus appears to have been simply a dance, which, however, received its character from the occasion on which it took place. It was a calumet *kintecaw* on concluding a peace or a treaty; a bear *kintecaw*, at the conclusion of a successful hunt of that animal; a war *kintecaw*, on the organization of an expedition against an enemy; and a death *kintecaw*, when the victim was led bleeding yet dancing to the stake.—*N. Y. Documentary History*, 8vo, IV, 63, 106; *Smith's History of New York*, Alb. ed., 76. See further, *Denton's Description of New York* (Gowans' ed.), p. 11, and *Carver's Travels*, London, 1778, p. 266, for particulars respecting the dances of the Indians.

Note 30, *page* 38.

KAKINDOWET—a Minister: from *Kakindowinin*, to teach, or preach to several persons.

Note 31, *page* 39.

THIS is a corruption of *Jubartes*, one of the names given to the humpbacked whales. Anderson, in his account of Iceland, gives it as *Jupiter fish*, and this has been erroneously supposed to be the derivation of the term. David Crantz, in his history of Greenland, furnishes the clue to its name, when he says of the Jupiter fish, that the "*Spanish whalers call it Gubartas, from an excrescence near the tail.*" Lacepede and Cuvier describe the *gibbar* and the *Jubarte*. Cuvier especially says that these names are given to them by the Basques. Now, *Jorobado* in Spanish means humpback, and its root is evidently the Latin *gibbus*.

The Basque whalers were the first to pursue the whale to its northern haunts, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Dutch and English took up the whaling business, the Basques were their instructors. This will account for the adoption of the word *jubarte* into the English and Dutch languages. See *Histoire des Peches*, vol. 1. Kline and other naturalists give the the coast of New England as its peculiar resort, and John Edward Gray, in his excellent catalogue of cetacea in the British Museum, gives the *Megaptera Americana*, or Bermuda humpback, which reaches a length of 88 feet, as the probable *Jubartes* of whalers.—*N. Y. Historical Magazine*, III, 52-3.

Note 32, *page* 40.

Sir THOMAS BROWNE, Kt., was born in London, 19th November, 1605. Having been educated near Winchester, he entered Pembroke college, Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1623, and having taken his degree in arts, proceeded to Leyden, where he was made Doctor of Medicine. He settled at Norwich, where he practised his profession for many years. His famous work, Religio Medici, was published in 1642. This was followed by Pseud. Epidem. Enquiries into very many received Tenents and commonly presumed Truths, or Enquiries into Common and Vulgar Errours; London, 1646; small folio. This work, which is still popular, has gone through many editions. Nature's Cabinet Unlocked; Urn Burial; the Garden of Cyrus, and a volume of Miscellanies, are also by the same author, who received the honor of knighthood in 1671, and died at Norwich in the year 1682. He was interred in St. Peter's church, where a monument was erected to his memory. A copy of the inscription on his monument is in *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* II, 536.

Note 33, *page* 41.

JOHN ROBINSON was a merchant of New York as early as 1676, where he married Gritie, widow of Cornelis Dircksen. In 1678 he hired a dwelling house on the east side of the city "towards the fortification near the water portt," and purchased, in November, 1679, for £120, the Shottwell farm containing 38¼ acres of land. This farm was situate on the east side of the city, and was bounded on the S. W. by the land of John Bassett, and on the N. W. by John Young's land. It included a run of water called Saw-mill creek, and a leather mill which Shottwell had erected thereupon, also a pond of water ranging N. E. unto the woods 120 rods. On the first of January, 1680, Mr. Robinson sold one-half the Shottwell farm, mill and water privileges, to John Lewin and Robert Woolley, merchants of London, for the sum of £60, and the property passed subsequently into the hands of William Coxe, Robinson's partner in trade.—*N. Y. Book of Deeds*, V, 113, VI, 208, 414. Mr. Valentine's impression is, that this farm was on the west side of Pearl, and north of Pine street. Mr. William J. Davis, another well known antiquary of New York, adds: "In Common Council in 1680, a resolution was passed that the water lots between John Robinson's and William Beeckman's lands along the Smith's valley be sold at auction to pay some public assessments. (The Smith's valley extended from Cedar nearly to Beekman street.) The Damen farm adjoined Wall street on the north; next to which was Mrs. Tysen's, and John Robinson's land probably joined her's. Hence, I think it evident that the 'Orchard,' extended from about Cedar street to Maiden lane." Thereabouts, probably, in the heart of the Second ward of the city, was the scene of the Bear hunt referred to by Mr. Woolley. New York is still famous for hunting *Bears*, but the amusement has been transferred to a locality further to the south, and known by the name of Wall street. In the same vicinity the first Methodist church in the city was erected, and thereabouts, too, the late Washington Irving, whose death a nation still mourns, first saw the light of day.

Mr. Robinson was alderman for the West ward in 1683, 1684 and 1685, but did not decease in New York. Dirck van der Cliff, Robinson's brother in law, owned, east of the Shottwell farm, an orchard through which a street was afterwards run, and called Cliff street, after the said Dirck van der Cliff.

Note 34, *page* 42.

ELIZABETH, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Christopher, Knt., of Alford in Lincolnshire, married Bennett, second Lord Sherard on the Irish peerage, by whom she had one son and two daughters. One of these married Edward, Lord Viscount Irwin, and the other, the Duke of Rutland. She lost her hus-

band in the year 1700. Her son Bennett succeeded to the title that year, and was created Lord Harborough in 1714, and Earl of Harborough in 1719. His lordship married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Calverly.

Note 35, *page* 45.

ME-TA-OW. Bishop Baraga, in his *Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language*, says, *Midew* means an Indian of the order of the Grand Medicine, *Midewiwin* being the name of that order. And in the Rev. Mr. Dougherty's *Chippewa Primer*, p. 41, *Metawa* means—he dances (at a feast). As part of the Indian cure consists of the dancing of the physician, perhaps the root of the Indian word in the text may be thus arrived at.

Note 36, *Page* 47.

Captain JOHN MANNING came to New York with Governor Nicolls in 1664, and in September of that year accompanied Colonel Cartwright in his expedition for the reduction of Fort Orange, where he attended and was a witness to the first treaty which the English concluded with the Five Nations.—*N. Y. Gen. Ent.*, I, 42. After the surrender of the place he was left in charge of the fort (*Ibid.* 45), In 1667, he was appointed Sheriff of the city of New York (*Ord. War. and Letters.* II, 177, 188), and held that office until 1672 inclusive. In 1669 he was named a member of the commission sent the same year to the Esopus, to regulate the affairs of that district (*Ibid; Council Min.*, III, 12, 434, 530, 535); also, justice for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and acted as high Sheriff of Yorkshire from 1671 to 1673.—*Gen. Ent.*, IV, 201. During the administration of Colonel Lovelace, he seems to have been high in the confidence of that governor, of whose council he was a member, and who, whenever called by business to any distance from the city, always left Fort James and the public peace in charge of Captain Manning (see *Instruc., ibid.*, 243). It was whilst charged with these duties in 1671, that an express arrived from Albany at New York with the fearful news of the approach of the French. Manning forthwith dispatched an express to Governor Lovelace, who was at Staten Island. Instead of approving his officer's activity, the latter was snubbed by the governor for his "impatience."—*Court of Assize Record*, 732. Whether discouraged by this reception or, as he himself admits, hopeless of making any effectual defence, he made no resistance when the wolf came actually, in 1673, in the shape of the Dutch, but unconditionally surrendered the country to them, and went back to England, where he arrived in January, 1674, his wife having died on the passage. He immediately waited on the King and the Duke of York and the principal officers of state, on which occasion the King gave it as his opinion that Fort James was not tenable. Captain Manning returned to New York in the Diamond frigate with Governor

Andros in 1674, and soon after was tried by court martial on charges of treachery and cowardice. He was acquitted of treachery, but found guilty of every other charge, and on 5th February, 1675, sentenced "to be carried back to prison and from thence brought out to the publick place before the City Hall, there to have his sword broken over his head, and from that time be rendered uncapable of wearing a Sword or serving his Majesty in any publick employ or place of benefitt and Trust within the Government."—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, 8vo, III, 80–100; *N. Y. Council Min.*, III, ii, 24. Thereupon he retired to his Island, where, according to Mr. Wooley's account, he does not seem to have permitted his disgrace to disturb his philosophy.

Manning's Island was called Minnahanock by the Indians;* Varken (or Hog) Island by the Dutch; it had been purchased originally by Governor Van Twiller in 1637, and granted in 1651 to Captain Francis Fyn, who figures in a lampoon against Governor Stuyvesant about that time (*O'Callaghan's New Netherland*, II, 181, 581). On the breaking out of the war against the Dutch in 1666, it was confiscated. On the 8th February, 1668, it was granted to Captain Manning, whereupon it passed by the name of "Manning's Island." On the 1st of August following, Captain Manning executed a deed conveying the island to Matthias Nicolls, *in trust*, for the use of the said Manning during his life, and after his decease for the use of his wife, if she should survive him, and after their decease, entailing it on Mary Manningham, daughter of Mrs. Manning by a former husband, and the heirs of her body, and for want of such heirs, after her death, to her brother Henry Manningham and his heirs.—*N. Y. Patents*, I, 99, 146. In 1676 (the year after Captain Manning was "broke"), the above named Mary Manningham married Robert Blackwell, "late of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, merchant" (*N. Y. Deed Book*, I, 130); the property in consequence was, after Captain Manning's death, called "*Blackwell's Island*," which name it bears at present. It is now the property of the city of New York, and is occupied by a Penitentiary, Alms House, Lunatic Asylum, Hospital, and similar institutions. It contains 120 acres, and cost the city of New York $50,000. The date of Captain Manning's death is not ascertained. He seems, however, to have been alive in 1686, when there was some difficulty between him and Mrs. Blackwell respecting the island, and she entered a caveat against the issuing of any patent to him for it, for a longer term than his life.

Note 37, *page* 48.

Henry Hammond, D. D., was born on 26th August, 1605, in Surrey, England. His father was physician to the Prince Henry, son of James I, after whom he was called. Having gone through his studies at Eton and Oxford, he devoted

* Minnahanock is derived from the Mohegan word *Minauhan*, an island, and *uck*, a termination signifying locality, and means literally, "At the Island."

himself to the study of theology, and received holy orders in 1629, and in 1633 was appointed rector of Penhurst, Kent. In 1643, he was made archdeacon of Chichester, but on the breaking out of the civil war, he became obnoxious to the party in the ascendant, on account of his attachment to his sovereign, and was obliged to remain concealed for several years, during which he composed various works in English and Latin; these were afterwards published in London, 4 vols. folio. His principal works are: Practical Catechism, or Abridgment of Christian Morals; Notes on the New Testament and on the Psalms. M. le Clerc wrote a criticism on some of these notes. When Charles II. was about to be recalled, Dr. Hammond was placed in charge of the diocese of Worcester, of which see he, without doubt, would have been appointed bishop, had he lived; but his life was unfortunately cut short on the 25th April, 1660, in the 55th year of his age.

Note 38, *page* 49.

Ancient Funeral Customs.—The following is copied from a memoir read by Judge Benson before the New York Historical Society in 1816: "A family in Albany, and from the earliest time, of the name of Wyngaard. The last, in the male line, Lucas Wyngaard, died about sixty years ago, never married, and leaving estate: the invitation to his funeral very general. Those who attended, returned after the interment, as was the usage, to the house of the deceased at the close of the one day, and a number never left it until the dawn of the next. In the course of the night a pipe of wine, stored in the cellar for some years before for the occasion, drank; dozens of papers of tobacco consumed; grosses of pipes broken: scarce a whole decanter or glass left; and, to crown it, the pall-bearers made a bonefire of their scarves on the hearth."

When Philip Livingston of New York died in 1749, his funeral expenses amounted to the sum of five hundred pounds, or $1,250. On that occasion two ceremonies were performed; one at his manor among his tenantry, and one at his residence in New York. At each place a pipe of wine was spiced for the guests. The bearers at the several places were presented with mourning rings, silk scarfs and handkerchiefs. The eight bearers in New York had each a gift of a monkey spoon (that is having a monkey carved on the handle), and at the manor *all* the tenantry had a gift of a pair of black gloves and a handkerchief. In a later period Gov. Wm. Livingston wrote in the Independent Reflector of 1753, his objections to extravagance in funerals, and his wife, it was said, was the first who ventured as an example of economy, to substitute linen scarfs for the former silk ones.—*Watson's Olden Times of New York*, 308. These customs continued down to a late period. Professor Morse writing in 1789, says: Their funeral ceremonies are equally singular. None attend them without a previous invitation. At the appointed hour they meet

at the neighboring houses or stoops, until the corpse is brought out. Ten or twelve persons are appointed to take the bier all together, and are not relieved. The clerk then desires the gentlemen (for ladies never walk to the grave, nor even attend the funeral, unless of a near relation) to fall into the procession. They go to the grave, and return to the house of mourning in the same order. Here the tables are handsomely set and furnished with cold and spiced wine, tobacco and pipes, and candles, paper, &c., to light them. The conversation turns upon promiscuous subjects.—*Munsell's Annals of Albany*, I, 315.

Robert Townsend, Esq., of Albany, informs us, that he was told by his mother, recently deceased, that a similar custom was observed as late as 1810, after the interment of General Ten Broeck, one of the most respectable citizens of the state of New York. Those invited to the funeral returned to the family mansion, where a cask of Madeira which had been stowed away by the old gentleman many years before, was, in accordance with the ancient usage, broached for the guests; and several hogsheads of Beer were rolled out on the lawn in front of the house for the free use of all comers. It is only proper to add, that this singular custom died out with the last generation.

Note 39, *page* 51.

This is a Narragansett word. "After harvest, after hunting, when they enjoy a calm of peace, health, plenty, prosperity, then the Indians have *Nickommo*, a feast, especially in winter. He or she who maketh this *Nickommo*, feast or dance, besides the feasting, of sometimes twenty, fifty, an hundred, yea, I have seen near a thousand persons at one of these feasts,—give a great quantity of money, and all sorts of their goods, according to and sometimes beyond their estate, in several small parcels of goods or money, to the value of eighteen pence, two shillings, or thereabouts, to one person; and that person that receives this gift, upon the receiving it, goes out, and hollows thrice for the health and prosperity of the party that gave it, the master or mistress of the feast. By this feasting and gifts, the devil drives on their worships pleasantly (as he doth all false worships, by such plausible earthly arguments of uniformities, universalities, antiquities, immunities, dignities, rewards unto submitters, and the contrary to refusers) so that they run far and near and ask, *Awaun Nickommit*, Who makes the feast?"—*Roger Williams' Key unto the Language of the Indians of New England.*

Note 40, *page* 52.

Nut signifies "Belly" in the Etchemin dialect; *Notasung* is the corresponding Delaware word; *Nutah*, the Nanticoke. Reference is made to these *Notas*, or *Denotas*, by Van der Donck in the "Great Remonstrance of New Netherland," where they are described as Bags wherewith the Indians measured their corn.—*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, I, 281.

Note 41, *page* 53.

WASS-RA-NEK signifies a Torch; the Algonkin word for Light is, *Waselenican*. DU PONCEAU, *Mem. sur les Langues Indiennes*, p. 265; from *Washsayah*, or *Wacheyek*, the light.—*Dougherty's Chippewa Primer*, p. 47.

Note 42, *page* 54.

THE reader is referred to "Denton's Brief Description of New York:" Gowans, 1845, p. 36, for further particulars respecting the Long Island Indians.

Note 43, *page* 57.

WILHELMUS VAN NIEUWENHUYZEN. The Reformed Dutch church of the city of New York being, in consequence of the incapacity of the Rev. Mr. Drisius, wholly destitute of a minister in 1670, an invitation, or call, was sent to Holland for a clergyman, with a guarantee from Governor Lovelace that he should receive an annual salary of 1000 guilders, equal to $400, with a house free of rent, and firewood without charge.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 189. The Rev. Mr Nieuwenhuyzen came, in consequence, to New York in the course of the summer of 1671, as colleague to the Rev. Mr. Drisius, who dying in 1672, Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen succeeded as sole minister to the church, being the seventh in succession from the Rev. Mr. Michaëlius. A few years after, namely in 1675, he had a difficulty with the Rev. Nicholas Van Renselaer, a minister of Albany, who, he asserted, "aloude in ye street," was not "a Lawfull minister nor his admittance at Albany lawfull;" maintaining "afterwards at Mr. Ebbing's, one of the elders," that no one having orders from the Church of England had sufficient authority to be admitted to administer the sacraments (Mr. Van Renselaer having received holy orders from the Rt. Rev. John Earle, Bishop of Salisbury, 1663–1665). The matter begat such excitement that it was brought before the governor and council on the 25th September. On that occasion, Mr. Van Renselaer exhibited proofs of his having been chaplain to the Dutch ambassador at London, and afterwards minister to the Dutch church at Westminster, and lecturer at St. Margaretts Loathbury, London. Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen was thereupon called on to declare whether a minister ordained in England by a bishop, be not qualified to administer the sacraments. The consideration of the case was resumed by the council on the 30th, when Jeronimus Ebbing and Peter Stoutenburg, elders; Jacob Teunisse Kay, Reyneer Willemse, Gerritt Van Tright, Isaac Van Vleck, deacons of the church at New York, appeared with their minister before the board. Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen "rather justified himself in his answer;" but he and his church officers finally considered it most prudent to yield to Governor Andros, and to admit, "That

a Minister ordayned in England by the Bishops is every way capable, &c."—*N. Y. Council Min.*, III, 54–59. Smith in his *History of New York*, erroneously calls this clergyman, "Niewenhyt, minister of the church at Albany," and then draws equally erroneous references from the dispute above referred to. Gideon Schaets was minister of the Reformed Dutch church at Albany at the time and for several years after.—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, 8vo, III, 878. Equally erroneous is another statement, that Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen retired to Brooklyn in 1676. Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen continued in charge at New York until his death, which took place in that city on the 17th February, 1681. Annekie Mauritz, his widow, survived him. It is clear, from the evidence of Mr. Wooley, that Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen was an accomplished scholar, whilst from the same evidence it is also clear, that in his ministry he sometimes exhibited more zeal than charity.

Note 44, *page* 57.

Lord GEORGE RUSSELL was the youngest son of William 5th Earl and 1st Duke of Bedford, and brother of the celebrated Lord William Russell who was beheaded in 1683. He was graduated at Magdalen college, Oxford, on the 4th February, 1666–7, when he was created Master of Arts. After making the tour of Europe he entered the army, and came to America. He was in Boston, and presented with the freedom of that city in 1680, as we find by the following entry in the Records: "4th February, 1679–80. It is ordered that the hon. George Russell, Esq., now resident with us in Boston, be admitted to the freedom of the corporation, if he please to accept thereof." He accepted of it and took the oath 13th February following, before the governor and assistants. He was in garrison as an ensign, at Albany, about the year 1687, and in the city of New York in 1689; when Captain Baxter and he being "known to be Roman Catholicx, were for that reason by the Lt. Gov. [Nicholson] and Council to avoid all jealousies, sent not only out of the garrisons, but even out of the Province." He married Mary, daughter and heir of Mr. Pendleten; and died in the year 1692, leaving issue one son, who died unmarried.—*Wiffen's Hist. of the House of Russell*, II, 223, 224; *Brydges' Collins*, sub titulo "Bedford;" *Rec. of the Col. of the Mass. Bay*, V, 264; *Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass.*, Salem ed., I, 299; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 640, IV, 132; *N. Y. Council Min.*, IV, 54.

Note 45, *page* 58.

FREDERICK PHILIPSE is said to have been a native of East Friesland. He was born in the year 1625, and immigrated to New Netherland about the year 1658, being by trade a carpenter. After his arrival here, he was employed in that capacity for some time in the public service, both at Bergen and at Esopus. In 1660 he embarked in trade, as appears by the public Records:

"20th Sept., 1660. It being proposed in Council by the Honble Director General on behalf of Frederick Philipsen, his Honor's late carpenter, that said Frederick Philipsen is disposed to make a voyage to Virginia with some merchandize, if the company's sloop be hired to him, &c."—*N. Y. Col. MSS.*, XI, 416; *Alb. Rec.*, XIV, 69; XXIV, 415.

A few years after this he married Margaret Hardenbroeck, the widow of Peter Rudolfus, a woman who was an active trader among the Indians; with whom he acquired some property, which may be said to have laid the foundation of his fortune;* for he soon became the wealthiest merchant in New York. He was appointed one of the aldermen of that city in 1675, and in September of the same year was sworn one of the council of Governor Andros. He continued to hold a seat in that body twenty-three years, with the exception of the brief administration of Jacob Leisler, which he opposed. When Kidd and Red sea pirates flourished in New York, Frederick Philipse became implicated like many others, in that illegal trade, and was censured by the authorities in England. Finding himself in bad odor, he resigned his seat in the council in 1698. Mr. Philipse acquired large tracts of land in Westchester county, N. Y., which were erected in the year 1693, into the manor of Philipsborough, where he was buried in 1702, in the 78th year of his age. His second wife was Catherine Van Cortland, widow of John Dervall.

Note 46, *page* 60.

SKATING GROUNDS OF NEW YORK.—Skating has been always a favorite exercise in New York, though we must say, that men and women are no longer seen "as it were flying upon their skates from place to place with marketing upon their Heads and Backs." The Kolck or Collect, a sheet of fresh water which covered the ground now occupied by the halls of justice in Centre street, and all that neighborhood, communicated in ancient times with Lespinard's pond and meadows, lying between North Moore and Green street, near the west end of what is at present Canal street. This was the great skating ground of the last century, where the gallants of the hour displayed, as a quaint writer expresses it, "theire graceful caracoles and pirouettes," ever and anon skimming at pleasure from one collection of water to the other, under the bridge which connected upper with lower Broadway. There WILLIAM the fourth, late King of England, might be seen when "*a Middy*," attached to the flag ship of Rear-Admiral Digby, attended by superior officers, trying his "tacks" on the slippery ice, in the winter of 1781–2. Tradition hath it, that a stratagem had been planned by certain of WASHINGTON'S men to capture this royal scion of the house of Hanover, and thereby secure a valuable prize, while enjoying himself

* The marriage contract between these parties is on record in the Minutes of the Orphan Court, City Hall, New York. The published pedigree of the family is incorrect, in many particulars, as regards its founder in America.

in his healthful exercise on the Collect pond. It is further said that the project had well nigh succeeded. Seemingly in anticipation of that success, one of the American papers wrote: "The boy William Henry Guelph, lately arrived at New York, will perhaps soon be in our power. In that event we shall not visit the sins of the father on the child, but send him home to his mother."

But those times have passed away, and not a pair of those feet which now daily promenade, in patent leather boots, past the Hospital at the head of Pearl street, has ever skated on the Collect or Lespinard's meadows. I have myself, adds Mr. Gowans, seen people skating between Washington market and Jersey city. To the spectators on shore, the skaters whilst whirling about on the river, did not appear larger than a good sized turkey in the act of flapping his wings; and I have heard that journeys have been performed on skates between New York and Albany.

Modern improvements have driven skating "out of town." When we were lads, says the editor of the *N. Y. Times* and *Messenger*, the nearest skating pond was on Stuyvesant's meadows, which then lay east of the Third avenue, and spread away from Eighth street to the river. Next to these, but further out, was Cato's pond, nearly up to the old shot-tower. These were fine large skating ponds in our eyes, but so terribly far away, that we made our preparations for going to them as if for a serious journey. Our pet place, however, was smaller, but handier. It was a pond at the corner of Thirteenth street and Broadway, nearly a square large. A block and pump maker's shanty, built on piles, stood in one edge of it. Why it was built there, we have, in youth, often endeavored to imagine, and after much patience of philosophising, came to the conclusion that it was for convenience, and to try whether his pumps would draw water before he sent them away to be put down in the old-fashioned wells at the street corners.

Accommodation for skaters is, we are happy to record the fact, now provided at the public expense. A skating pond of about twenty acres large, admirably planned for comfort and adapted for the purpose, has been laid out in the Central Park, where young men have an opportunity of indulging in this healthy exercise free from danger. Instead of trudging away on foot for miles, as their fathers had to do to get at the skating place, the youth of the present day have but to step into one of the avenue cars and bowl off to the Central Park, strap their skates, and cut carlicues till their young legs have had enough of it.

But don't let those merry scamps of boys altogether monopolize the fun. Let the girls mount the swift skate also. It is just as healthy for them; and what a charming thing it will be to see five hundred cherry-cheeked, healthy beauties—goddesses in crinoline and mortals in plumptitudinous loveliness—gliding, whirling, and now and then sitting down, without exactly intending it, on the slippery ice. Let the ladies patronise the Central Park skating pond. They can make themselves adorable enough in Polish skating costume, to drive all the men and boys in New York mad as March hares. Let them remember,

too, that the police arrangements for order, propriety and comfort at the pond, are perfect, and a lady can enjoy herself there with as absolute comfort as at the opera.

Note 47, *page* 61.

GEORGE HEATHCOTE, the Quaker captain. The earliest instance that we find on record of a Quaker commanding a ship is in *N. Y. Col. Documents*, II, 461, where it stated that such a vessel arrived in the port of New Amsterdam on the 20th October, 1661, and refused to "strike to the port, being a quaker." The ship mentioned in the text was the *Hopewell.* She was commanded by George Heathcot "of Rattilife in the county of Middlesex, Eng." (*N. Y. Deed Book*, IV, 349), a sturdy Quaker, who "on the first of the sixth month 1672," being owner and commander of a ship, was imprisoned by Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts, "for delivering him a letter and not putting of his hat."—*Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers*, II, 259. Not encouraged by this reception, he seems to have subsequently turned his face to New York, from which port he sailed for England in August, 1675.—*N Y. Council Min.*, III, part ii, 46. He returned the following year, having chartered the ship John and Mary of Weymouth, and purchased land in New York "above the smith's garden," through which a street 25 feet wide was ordered to be opened in 1686.—*N. Y. Council Min.*, V, 146, 151. He was master of the "pink Hopewell" in 1679, which vessel cleared for London, July 17, 1680 (*Orders and Warrants*, XXXII, 21, 26, 94); and in this voyage it was that he was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Wooley. The pink Hopewell, George Heathcote, master, cleared from New York again for London, 23d June, 1681 (*N. Y. Pass Book*, p. 4), on which occasion he carried William Dyre, the collector of New York, a prisoner to England by order of the Court of Assize. Besse says, George Heathcot was fined in London in 1683 for refusing to bear arms.—*Opus sup. cit.*, I, 462. We find him again in New York in 1685, in 1688, and in 1691. In 1688 he was master of the ship Yorke.—*N. Y. Deed Book*, VIII, 208. He subsequently settled in Bucks county, Penn. It has been stated that he died unmarried in New York in 1685; but this is clearly erroneous. Mr. Heathcote married the daughter of Samuel Groom of New Jersey.—*N. Y. Council Min.*, V, 71. His daughter married John Barber of London; he had two sisters, one of whom was Mrs. Hannah Browne, and the other, Mrs. Anne Lupton; and he died in November, 1710. By his will on file in the Surrogate's office, New York, and bearing date 14th November, and proved 24th November of that year, he liberates his three negro slaves, gives 500 acres of land near Shrewsbury, N. J., to Thomas Carlton, to be called Carlton settlement, and constitutes his "cozen Caleb Heathcote," residuary legatee.

GOWANS'

BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA.

3

"We would seek to collect into a focus of irradiation these broken rays of intelligence that are dispersed through the chaos of literature, and which by their very dispersion lose their appropriate brightness."..... *Dublin Review*, 1841.

"History is a most improving part of knowledge, as well as an agreeable amusement; and a great part of what we commonly call *Erudition*, and value so highly, is nothing but an acquaintance with historical facts. An extensive knowledge of this kind belongs to men of letters; but I must think it an unpardonable ignorance in persons of whatever sex or condition, not to be acquainted with the history of their own country, together with the histories of ancient Greece and Rome. A man acquainted with history may, in some respect, be said to have lived from the beginning of the world, and to have been making continual additions to his stock of knowledge in every century."..... *Hume.*



NEW YORK:
WILLIAM GOWANS.

1862.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF

THE PROVINCE AND CITY

OF

NEW YORK;

WITH

PLANS OF THE CITY AND SEVERAL FORTS

AS THEY EXISTED IN THE YEAR 1695.

BY JOHN MILLER.

A NEW EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COPIOUS HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL. D.,

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"Here lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
The noble sons of potent heat and floods,
Prone-rushing from the clouds, rear high to Heaven
Their thorny stems; and broad around them throw
Meridian gloom. Here, in eternal prime,
Unnumber'd fruits, of keen, delicious taste
And vital spirit, drink amid the cliffs,
And burning sands that bank the shrubby vales."—THOMSON.

"It is from the bosom of colonies that civil liberty nearly in all ages has set forth; Greece had no Solon till the colonies of Asia Minor had attained their highest degree of splendor; and while the parent country could only boast of a single legislator, whose object was only to form citizens, and not merely warriors, nearly every colony of Greece and Sicily possessed its Zallucus or Charondes. In this way indeed, every commercial state may be said to live again in the colonies it has founded. And though Europe should again experience the dreadful misfortune to sink under the yoke of despotism or anarchy, into the gloomy horrors of barbarism, Providence has provided for its re-birth, by scattering the seeds of civilization over every part of the globe; exhibiting in our day the astonishing spectacle, never before displayed, of ripened civilization in one part, while in others it is yet in blossom, or only pushing forth its earliest buds."..... A. H. L. HEEREN.



NEW YORK:
WILLIAM GOWANS.

1862.

3

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1862, by

W. GOWANS,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

J. MUNSELL, PRINTER,

ALBANY.

DEDICATED

TO

THE MEMORY

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JOHN JAY.

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W. GOWANS, *Publisher.*

INTRODUCTION.

The following description of the City and Colony of New York carries us back one hundred and sixty-six years to the day when William III ruled the destinies of the English nation. Its author, the Rev. John Miller, was for a time chaplain to the troops in the fort, and sole Episcopal clergyman in the colony. Beyond the account here given, and which he addressed to Henry Compton, Bishop of London, we have few data for his history. He was a graduate of one of the English universities, and was commissioned chaplain to two companies of Grenadiers in the Colony of New York, March 7, 1691–2. He arrived here in 1693, and as an act was passed that year for settling a ministry, he, in February, 1694, claimed a right to be inducted, but the Council decided against his pretensions. He left the colony apparently, June 1, 1695, and was taken in July by a French privateer, destroying his papers to avoid giving information to the enemy. His present account was therefore drawn up from recollection, and in fact is more taken up with a most extraordinary plan of civil and ecclesiastical government than with a detailed description of the colony in which he had sojourned. After his return to England he applied to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantation for additional salary, but did not succeed in obtaining anything. A short note of information

furnished by him to the Board at the time is given in the Appendix.

Mr. Miller's Description, with its curious map and plans, found its way from the archives of the Bishops of London to the hands of George Chalmers the historian, and on the dispersion of his library fell into the hands of Thomas Rodd, a London bookseller, who published it in 1843. Since then the original manuscript has been added to the treasures in the British Museum.

Of Mr. Miller's earlier or later history I know nothing, and admit that I was deterred from seeking a clue for research by the slight results attained by Dr. O'Callaghan in his endeavors to investigate the history of Mr. Miller's predecessor in the chaplaincy, the Rev. Mr. Wolley. As connected with his history, however, we add his commission and the accompanying papers from the archives of the state.

New York at this period had just emerged from a civil war, that had been most disastrous to its prosperity. Submitting readily to the rule of William and Mary, it had seen the regular authorities overthrown by the ignorant and deluded or ambitious Leisler; whose sway, recognized in New York and on Long Island, was resisted at Albany, but who by stimulating the Iroquois to attack the French in Canada had contributed to the fearful slaughter of Lachine, and thus drawn on the exposed frontiers of New York the vengeance of the enemy, which soon laid Schenectady in ashes, and repeated on a diminished scale the horrors of Lachine. The terror inspired by this, the civil war existing and the oppressive measures of Leisler drove many from the colony, and it was fast declining, when Sloughter arrived, and his summary disposal of the usurper in turn made others deem flight a necessary precaution.

The Colony of New York had been the private property of James II as Duke of York, under the grant from his brother, and on his accession to the throne became an apanage of the crown, and subsequent monarchs so held it down to the close of the Revolution, when George III wished it to be so regarded.

During the period of James's actual possession of the territory, New York had been transformed into an English colony, a code of laws, compiled chiefly from those in force in New England, had been introduced, New York and Albany been incorporated, and finally a legislature assembled, which passed a bill of rights securing the liberties of the subject and granting free toleration to all Christians.

The acts of this legislature had been ignored by that convened under William III, and a resolution passed declaring them of no force. A new bill of rights, less generous indeed, was too full of dangerous ideas to meet the new champion of liberty, although it did not contain the "evil egg of toleration." The colony, when Miller came here, was divided into two parties, the Leislerian and Anti-Leislerian. Fletcher had identified himself with the latter, but the former had just succeeded in obtaining an act of parliament of a most false preamble, reversing the sentence on Leisler, and were to consummate their triumph by the king's appointment of Richard, Earl of Bellamont, as Governor, in place of Fletcher, whose extravagant grants of land afforded a good pretext for his removal.

New York city at this time was, as Miller's map shows, confined almost altogether to the part of the island below Wall street, where a palisade ran across the island, with stone bastions at Broadway and William street. A fort and a battery on the site of our present Battery, recently laid out by Fletcher, defended the city on the south, and other bat-

teries and block houses on the river sides. The population was about four thousand, one-eighth being slaves. Yet the commerce was so considerable that in 1696, the year when Miller reached England, forty square-rigged vessels, sixty-two sloops, and as many boats, were entered at the New York custom house.

Bradford had just introduced printing in 1693, and in this very year, 1695, was printing the first New York Almanac for John Clapp, who is entitled to the honor of introducing hackney coaches into the city. A Dutch church had just been erected in Garden street, called Church street for that reason on Miller's map, although many a one yet remembers the time when it bore its earlier name. The Episcopalians were preparing to erect a church for themselves, and Miller advised the site of the bastion at the corner of Wall and William as the spot, but it was begun on the ground intended by Dongan for a Jesuit college, and next appropriated as a burial ground, the present site of Trinity.

New York possessed conveniences. It had its regular ferry to Brooklyn; its post to Philadelphia. Wells, to the number of a dozen, stood in the middle of the street in various parts and before the Fort, and the Stadt House, New York's first city hall, school house and court house. Provision was made for the prevention of fires, by leathern buckets, a system introduced in 1658, and of which at this time every house with three fireplaces was required to have two, brewers six, and bakers three, under penalty of a fine of six shillings.

Other improvements were talked of and introduced within a few years. Before the close of the century, Broad street was drained by a sewer, the residents on Broadway set out trees by consent of the Common Council,

and every seventh house on the street hung out its lanthorn and candle on a pole, the expense of which was shared by all; Maiden lane and Garden street were laid out, a night watch of twelve men appointed, and a city livery of blue with orange list adopted.

In that day thirty volumes, including a couple of Bibles, was a large private library; and William Merritt, no friend to Leisler, was Mayor.

On the Hudson, Kingston, encircled with its palisade, was the chief place before you reached Albany, which then reached from Hudson street to Steuben on Broadway, and from the river west to Lodge street, where the old fort stood, Handlers' (that is Traders') street being the present Broadway. Dr. Dellius had his church commanding Broadway and Joncaer or State street, the fort being at the opposite end. Outside the city stockade were the Indian houses, where the Indians who came to trade or treat remained, and these were kept in repair at the expense of the traders.

The streets of Albany were not in very good condition, and the bridges, especially "the great bridge by Majr. Schuyler," was sadly out of repair, and the new stockades were not up; but the Common Council were taking steps to set all this right, removing houses too near the stockade, and digging a public well on Jonker street for the general good.

Albany had suffered greatly during the troubles, the number of men had fallen from 662 in 1689 to 382 in 1697, and the whole population from 2016 to 1449.

Schenectady had risen from its ruins, and now well defended was less fearful of a visitation.

Such was the colony as Miller left it, and his Description will bring it more fully before the reader. The moral tone

was not what he desired, and he lays the lash on the prevalent vices with an unsparing hand. In his eyes the great want was the establishment of the Church of England, and his proposal of bishops is one of the earliest allusions to the step, which, natural and just wherever the Episcopalians were at all numerous, was strangely opposed by the people of New England, who insisted that their fellow Christians, the Episcopalians, should not have their church organization in America, and insisted so violently and intolerantly that many Episcopalians cowered under the storm of their fanaticism, and for peacesake endeavored to prevent any appointment. The Revolution alone freed the Episcopalians from this tyrannical interference of their neighbors. Had Miller's plan been set forward by Government, there might have been some pretext for their conduct.

Another theme of the Chaplain is the conquest of Canada; but here the same feeling of New England was shown towards the Catholics of Canada. They were not to profess or enjoy their religion at all. From the period of which we write to the year 1763 New England and New York sought the subjugation of Canada, mainly and chiefly to overthrow the Catholic religion. Miller's plan of extermination was thorough, and was doubtless that formed in the minds of most men in the northern colonies. Yet strange ordering of Providence, the blood of New England was poured out with this view, but left conquered Canada in the enjoyment of the religious liberty of which they wished to deprive her; and then the uprising against the Quebec act brought religious freedom at last to all the colonies, and the war which some consider as beginning with the attempt to prevent Episcopalians from having bishops beheld in its course the selectmen of Boston following

vested Catholic clergymen through the streets, and soon after the close of the war, not only a bishop among the Episcopalians at Boston, but even one of the Catholics, and that one respected and beloved.

It will not be uninteresting to view the progress of New York from Miller's day to ours, and to give some picture of the city at present. To begin with the city, the following table will show its increase in population:

1696,....	4,302	1793,....	33,131	1835,....	270,068
1731,....	8,628	1800,....	60,489	1840,....	312,852
1756,....	10,381	1810,....	96,373	1850,....	515,394
1773,....	21,876	1823,....	123,706	1860,....	814,254
1786,....	23,614	1830,....	202,589		

The whole population of the state in 1860 was 3,880,727, the city containing more than one-fifth of all the inhabitants of the state. The city has too, a greater population than Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, California, Oregon, Delaware, Maryland, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana or Texas; twenty-one different states having a smaller population than has gathered on the island of Manhattan.

The appearance of the city has steadily improved. Scarcely a trace of the city of the days of the Revolution remains. The buildings are nearly all recent; the stores, many of them of white marble, brown stone or iron, are of palatial size and form; the churches and public edifices are equally costly and in many cases erected with great taste and judgment, possessing no little architectural beauty; what Wall street is for its banks, Broadway is for its stores and the Fifth avenue for its dwellings, the finest churches being in the last two streets or near them.

These various buildings are supplied with gas, first man-

ufactured here in 1823, and with water from the Croton river, introduced in consequence of a vote in favor of it in 1835. The pavement of the streets has been gradually improved, the old cobble stones have given place in many parts to the Belgian pavement which has best answered the requisites; and the means of communication through the different parts are greatly facilitated by the various city rail roads. Steam brings to the city in the steam boats that leave at all points and in the various rail roads her supplies and merchandise; and drives the machinery in her thousand workshops; and even in her fire engines bends its immense strength to hurl the exhaustless Croton on the consuming edifice.

For education New York possesses, including the Free Academy, five incorporated colleges, and ninety-nine public schools, besides a large number directed by private individuals or religious denominations. The pupils in the public schools amount to over fifty thousand, and nearly fifteen thousand more are taught in other free schools. Her public libraries, the Astor, Society, Historical, Mercantile and others, though inferior to the great libraries of Europe, are rapidly meeting the wants of the people.

In her institutions for the relief of the miseries and misfortunes of our race, New York has no reason to avoid comparison. Two well conducted city hospitals, three more supported by the Catholics, Jews and Episcopalians; several orphan asylums, infirmaries, asylums for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the insane, a Lying-in Hospital, houses of protection for servants. In addition to these it has an institution not indeed a charity, for the city contributes nothing to it, but no less admirable, as it is managed by citizens of New York. This is the Emigrant Commission, supported by a tax levied on each emigrant

arriving, and paid by him as a premium insuring him in case of want during five years a competent relief. Of the magnitude of this institution, we may judge by the fact that from 1847 to 1861 the number of emigrants landing at New York was over two million seven hundred and fifty thousand, and of this great nation not one during the five years succeeding his arrival cost the city or any part of the state a single cent.

The Alms House of the city, with the Penitentiary, the Juvenile Asylums, are all extensive, and generally conducted on wise principles, the government devolving chiefly on a single Board of Charities and Corrections.

Meanwhile the city has its numerous churches and edifices growing out of them; its convents, asylums, hospitals. Many of the churches are large and spacious, with costly organs and rich service; most are well attended by worshipers, some by four or five times their capacity each Sunday, repeated services at different hours enabling thousands to use a single edifice.

While religion and benevolence are thus cared for, New York is not without its means of amusement. A spacious park of three miles length, has been laid out most economically in a period of official squandering, and by its walks and drives, its sailing advantages in summer and still greater opportunities for skating in winter, gives a guarantee of the public health, which the improved sewerage and widening of many streets in the older parts of the city daily insures. A noble Opera House, and a number of Theatres, a Museum, attract numbers, and the amusements offered are watched with a jealous eye. At no period, perhaps, has greater morality marked the plays selected for the stage.

Such in brief is New York in 1862, how altered from

that when Miller made his notes. The rocky isle alone preserves its identity. The picture of the past, therefore, possesses but the greater interest.

Commission of the Rev. John Miller to be Chaplain of Fort William, New York.

From Book of Commissions II, 71–73 in Secretary's Office, Albany, N. Y.

Marie R.

William and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen [L. S.] of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defenders of the faith &c. To our Trusty and welbeloved John Miller Clerke Greeting We do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain of the two Companies of foot in the Colony of Newyorke in America You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Chaplain by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging and you are to observe and follow such orders and direccons from time to time as you shall receive from your Captains or any your superiour Officer according to the rules and discipline of warr Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 7th day of March 169½ in the fourth yeare of Our Reigne By her Maj^{tys} Command

NOTTINGHAM.

Entered with the Com^{r} Gen^{l} of the musters.

D. CRAWFORD.

The Bishop of London's Licence to the Rev^{d} John Miller.

Henricus permissione divina Londinensis Episcopus Di- [L. S.] lecto nobis in Christo Johannis Miller Art: Magistro & Clerico Salutem & Gratiam Ad peragendum Officium Capellani in Oppido Novi Eboraci apud Americanos in

precibus communibus Aliisq ; ministerijs Ecclesiasticis Ad Officium Capellani pertinentibus juxta formam descriptam in libro publicarum precum authoritate Parliamenti hujus Inclyti Regni Angliæ in ea parte edit. & provis. & Canones & Constitutiones in ea legitime stabilitas et publicatas non aliter neque alio modo Tibi de cujus fidelitate, morum integritate Literarum Scientia sana doctrina et diligentia plurimum confidimus (prestito primitus per te Juramento tam de agnoscendo Regiam supremam Majestatem juxta vim formam et effectum Statuti parliamenti dicti reg- [H. London] ni Angliæ in ea parte edit. et provis. quam de Canonica Obedientia Nobis et Successoribus nostris in omnibus licitis et honestis per te præstanda et exhibenda, subscriptisq ; per te tribus illis articulis mentionatis in tricesimo sexto Capitulo libri Constitutionum sive Canonum Ecclesiasticorum Anno Dom. 1604. Regia Authoritate Editorum & promulgatorum) Licentiam et facultatem nostram concedimus et impertimur per præsentes ad nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas: In cujus rei Testimonium Sigillum nostrum (quo in similibus plerumq; utimur) præsentibus apponi fecimus Dat. nono die Martij Anno Dom. 1691, nostræq translationis anno Decimo Septimo.

Certificate of the Rev^d M^r Miller having subscribed the Declaration according to Act of Parliament.

Henry, By Divine permission Lord Bishop of London to all to whom these presents shall or may concerne [L. S.] health in Our Lord God everlasting. Whereas by virtue of An Act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of Our Sovereign Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary Entituled an Act for the abrogating of the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance and appointing other

oaths It is provided and Enacted That every person at his or their respective Admission to be incumbent in any Ecclesiasticall promotion or dignity in the Church of England shall subscribe and declare before his Ordinary in manner and forme as in the said Act is contained Now know ye That on the day of the date hereof did personally [H. London] appear before us M^r^ John Miller Clerke to be admitted Chaplain in Newyorke in America and subscribed as followeth as by the said Act is required: "I John Miller Clerke do declare that no forrein Prince Person Prelate State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction Power Superiority Preëminence or Authority Ecclesiasticall or Spiritual within this Realm: And that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by Law Established" In Witness whereof We have caused Our Seal Manual to be affixed to these presents Dated the 9th day of March in the year of Our Lord One thousand six hundred 91 And in the 17^th^ Year of Our Translation.

A

Deſcription

OF

The Province and City

OF

New-York:

With

Plans of the City and Several Forts as they exiſted in the Year 1695.

By the

Rev. John Miller.

LONDON,

Printed and Publiſhed for the Enlightment of ſuch as would deſire information Anent the New-Found-Land of America.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

THE following description of New York, as it existed a century and a half since, fell into the hands of the publisher on the dispersion of the library of the late George Chalmers, Esq.

As it contains some curious particulars respecting the state of society in the province at the time, and is, moreover, of particular local interest, as giving plans of the town and the several forts in the province, the publisher thought he would be rendering an acceptable service to those persons who take an interest in tracing the rise and growth of the great commercial emporium of the Western world by causing a few copies to be printed, and thus preserving it from the chance of being lost or destroyed.

The orthography has been modernized, the pointing amended, and a few words, obviously necessary to complete the sense, have been inserted between brackets.

The author appears to use some peculiar arithmetical notation consisting in the employment of a superfluous number of ciphers, as page 5, line 4, where 300 and 303 are printed for 30 and 33, and page 14, where 64,000 is used for 64: these are retained, but his obvious meaning is indicated to the reader by inserting the true numbers within a parenthesis.

It may be further necessary to add, that the author uniformly uses Canida instead of Canada: this has been changed to the present usage. All other proper names are given as in the manuscript.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London.

My Lord.

After having been very near three years resident in the province of New York, in America, as Chaplain to his Majesty's forces there, and by living in the Fort of New York, and constantly attending the Governor, had the opportunity of observing many things of considerable consequence in relation to the Christians and Indians, inhabitants thereof, or bordering thereon, and also taken the draughts of all the cities, towns, forts, and churches of any note within the same, with particular accounts of the number of our Indians, the strength of Canada, and way thither, and several other matters which would have enabled me to give an exact account of the present estate of that province and the methods proper to be used for the correcting certain evils therein, and advantaging thereof, principally as to religious affairs,—I was (obliged so to do by several weighty motives, especially those of my private concerns) returning home with them in July last, when being met and set upon by a French privateer and made his prisoner, I was obliged to cause them all to be thrown overboard, lest I should have given intelligence to an

enemy to the ruine of the province, instead of a friendly information to the advantaging thereof. But having had time by my long imprisonment, and leisure also sufficient, I thought I could not better employ them than by endeavouring to retrieve some part of what I had lost, and put it in such a method as might testify the earnest desire I have to promote the glory to God, the service of my sovereign, and the benefit of my country. What I have been able to do through God's assistance, the help of my memory, and certain knowledge I had of things, your Lordship will find in the following sheets: which however weak and imperfect, as it must needs be, I humbly present to your Lordship as an evidence of my duty and gratitude; submitting it to your wise inspection and serious consideration, either to be further improved if it seem proper for the end it is designed, or rejected if it be unworthy of any respect. Intreating your Lordship to pardon what faults and blemishes shall be found therein, and heartily praying that the Giver of all good things would bless your Lordship, (see Note 1,) with health, and prosperity and success in all your affairs, I make bold in all duty to subscribe myself,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful,
And humble servant,
JOHN MILLER.

NEW YORK CONSIDERED.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.

The province of New York is a country very pleasant and delightful, and well improved for the time it has been settled and the number of its inhabitants. It lies in the latitudes of 40 and 41, and for the longitude is situated between the 300th and 303d (30th and 33d) degree north; is in breadth, where broadest, from the east to the west, about 200 miles, and in length, north and south, about 250, being bounded on the east by New England, on the west by New Jersey and the Indian country, on the north by the Indian country, and on the south by the ocean. It lies almost exactly in the middle of the English plantations, which altogether have of sea coast, more or less improved by the English, both eastward and westward, near 250 leagues. This province whereof I speak consists partly of islands and partly of the main land: the islands of greater consideration are three: New York island,

Staten Island, and Nassau (formerly Long) Island; (see Note 2,) the two former make, each of them, a county, the first of New York, the second of Richmond. On Nassau Island are three counties; for the western end is King's County, the middle Queen's County, and the eastern part Suffolk County: to these do belong several other smaller islands, which, being at best but so many farms, are not worthy consideration. On the main land are likewise five counties, namely: West Chester, Orange, Dutchess, Ulster, and Albany, (see Note 3,) equal in number to, but not so well planted, improved, and peopled, as the former. The places of strength are chiefly three: the city of New York, the city of Albany, and the town of Kingstone, in Ulster.

The city of New York, more largely taken, is the whole island so called, and is in length sixteen miles, (see Note 4,) in breadth six, and in circumference forty-two; but more strictly considered, and as a place of strength, is only the part thereof within the fortifications, and so is not in length or breadth above two furlongs, and in circumference a mile. The form of it is triangular, having for the sides thereof the west and north lines, and the east and south for its arched basis. The chief place of strength it boasts of is its fort, situated on the south west angle, which is reasonably strong, and well provided with ammunition, having in it about thirty-eight guns. Mounted on the basis like-

wise, in convenient places, are three batteries of great guns; one of fifteen, called Whitehall Battery, one of five, by the Stadthouse, (see Note 5,) and the third of ten, by the Burgher's Path. (See Note 6.) On the north east angle is a strong blockhouse and half moon, wherein are six or seven guns; this part buts upon the river, and is all along fortified with a sufficient bank of earth. On the north side are two large stone points, and therein about eight guns, some mounted and some unmounted. On the north west angle is a blockhouse, and on the west side two hornworks which are furnished with some guns, six or seven in number: this side buts upon Hudson's River; has a bank in some places twenty fathoms high from the water, by reason whereof, and a stockado strengthened with a bank of earth on the inside, which last is also on the north side to the landward, it is not easily assailable. As this city is the chief place of strength belonging to this province for its defence against those enemies who come by sea, so Albany is of principal consideration against those who come by land, the French and Indians of Canada. It is distant from New York 150 miles, and lies up Hudson's River on the west side, on the descent of a hill from the west to the eastward. It is in circumference about six furlongs, and hath therein about 200 houses, a fourth part of what there is reckoned to be in New York. The form of it is septangular, and the longest line

that which buts upon the river running from the north to the south. On the west angle is the fort, quadrangular, strongly stockadoed and ditched round, having in it twenty-one pieces of ordnance mounted. On the north west side are two blockhouses, and on the south west as many: on the south east angle stands one blockhouse; in the middle of the line from thence northward is a horned work, and on the north east angle a mount. The whole city is well stockadoed round, and in the several fortifications named are about thirty guns. Dependent on this city, and about twenty miles distance to the northward from it, is the Fort of Scanectade, (see Note 7,) quadrangular, with a treble stockado, a new blockhouse at every angle, and in each blockhouse two great guns; and Nestigayuna, and the Half-moon; (see Note 8,) places, formerly of some account, but now deserted. On this city also depends the Fort at the Flats, four miles from Albany, belonging to the River Indians, who are about sixty families: it is stockadoed round, has a blockhouse and a mount, but no great guns. There are in it five Indian wigwams, and a house or two serving in case of necessity for the soldiers, in number twenty-four, who are the guard there. Kingstone is the chief town of Ulster County; lies on the west side of Hudson's River, but two miles distant from it, from New York eighty-six, and from Albany sixty-four miles: it is quadrangular, and stockadoed round, having small horn-

works at convenient distances one from the other, and in proper places. It is in circumference near as big as Albany, but as to number of houses not above half so big: on the south side is a particular part separated by a stockado from the rest, and strengthened with a blockhouse and a hornwork wherein are about six guns.

The number of the inhabitants in this province are about 3000 families, whereof almost one-half are naturally Dutch, a great part English, and the rest French; which how they are seated, and what number of families of each nations, what churches, meeting houses, ministers or pretended ministers, there are in each county, may be best discerned by the table here inserted. As to their religion, they are very much divided; few of them intelligent and sincere, but the most part ignorant and conceited, fickle and regardless. As to their wealth and disposition thereto, the Dutch are rich and sparing; the English neither very rich, nor too great husbands; the French are poor, and therefore forced to be penurious. As to their way of trade and dealing, they are all generally cunning and crafty, but many of them not so just to their words as they should be.

The air of this province is very good, and much like that of the best parts of France; not very often foggy, nor yet cloudy or rainy for any long time together, but generally very clear and thin: the north-west winds frequently visit it, and chiefly in

winter; nor does there want in the summer the southern breezes, which daily almost rise about nine or ten in the morning, and continue till sunset. The weather is, indeed, hotter in summer than one would well wish it, and in winter colder than he can well endure it; but both heat and cold are in their seasons much abated by the wind last spoken of. The coldest wind is generally reckoned to be the north west, and it is certainly very sharp and piercing, and causes most hard and severe frosts; but, in my judgment, the south west exceeds it much, but the best of it is that it does not blow very often there from that quarter.

The air and winds being such as I have said, the country, consequently, should be very healthful, and this is certainly so; and I dare boldly affirm it to be, on that particular and most beneficial account, the best province his Majesty has in all America, and very agreeable to the constitution of his subjects, so that a sober Englishman may go into it, live there, and come out of it again, without any seasoning or other sickness caused merely by the country; nay, it is so far from causing, that, on the contrary, if a man be any thing consumptive, and not too far gone, 'tis ten to one but it will cure him; and if inclined to rheums or colds, will in a great part, if not wholly, free him from them.

If the air be good, the land is not bad, but taking one place with another, very tolerable, yea, commendable: there are, 'tis true, many rocks and

mountains, but, I believe, the goodness of their inside as to metals and minerals will, when searched, make amends for the barrenness of the outside: there are also many woods and bogs, or rather swamps; but few complain of them, because they afford them mast for their hogs and food for their breeding mares and cows, also, in the summer time, fur. Walnut, cedar, oak of several kinds, and many other sorts of wood proper for building of ships or houses, or necessary for fencing and fuel; turpentine for physical uses, and pitch and tar for the seaman's service; many physical herbs, and much wild fowl, as swans, geese, ducks, turkies, a kind of pheasants and partridges, pigeons, &c. and no less store of good venison, so that you may sometimes buy at your door a quarter for ninepence or a shilling. Hence also they have their furs, such as beaver, otter, fisher, martin, musk-rat, bear-skin, &c. Indeed, the countenance of them is not so beautiful as some of our English writers would make us believe; nor would I prefer, in that respect, the wild Indian country before our English meadows and closes, much less our gardens when in the most flourishing estate, notwithstanding that there are here and there many herbs such and as good as we have growing in our gardens to be found wild, as mint, sweet marjoram, &c.; and, in their season, strawberries and walnuts and some other sorts of fruits, in great abundance, especially grapes, which I am persuaded, if well improved,

would yield great quantities of strong and pleasant wine (see Note 9).

He that is not pleased with these advantages may, if he please to take a little pains in clearing the ground by stubbing up the trees and brush-wood, have good arable land or pastures, that shall, instead of woods and their wild produce, afford him good corn and hay, and a reasonable number of fat cattle. Indeed, not all alike, for the land toward the south is generally a sandy soil, and not very fruitful, but rather something inclining to barrenness: the corn that it produces is small, oftentimes spoiled by blasts and mildews, or eaten (especially the white peas,) by the worms, but then it produces very good Indian corn or maize; (see Note 10,) pleasant fruits, as apples, peaches, melons of several sorts; good roots as parsneps, turnips, carrots, and as good cabbages as need to be eaten: but to the northward, and in the Indian country, the land is much better; the soil black and rich, brings forth corn in abundance, and that very firm, large, and good; and besides all those fruits aforementioned (peaches excepted), cherries, pears, and currants.

Fish there is in great store, both in the sea and rivers; many of them of the same kinds as we have in England, and many strange, and such as are not to be seen there; some even without name, except such as was given them from the order they were taken in, as first, second, third, &c., (see Note 11). These are the produce of the country I speak

of, and there are yet more than these peculiarly proper for the merchant, as train oil and whalebone, though in no very great quantity; and pipe-staves, of which many thousands are yearly transported, with several other things, which, with some of those before-named, will admit of much improvement. The industry that now is used is but little; the few inhabitants, having a large country before them, care not for more than from hand to mouth, and therefore they take but little pains, and yet that little produces very good beer, bread, cider, wine of peaches, cloth stuffs, and beaver hats, a certain and sufficient sign how plentiful and beneficial a country it would be did but industrious art second nature's bounty, and were but the inhabitants more in number than at present they are (see Note 12).

Merchandizing in this country is a good employment, English goods yielding in New York generally 100 per cent. advance above the first cost, and some of them 200, 300, yea sometimes 400: this makes so many in the city to follow it, that whosoever looks on their shops would wonder, where there are so many to sell, there should be any to buy.

This, joined to the healthfulness, pleasantness, and fruitfulness thereof, are great encouragements to people rather to seek the bettering of their fortunes here than elsewhere; so that it may be hoped that a little time will render the inhabitants more

numerous than at present they are. Do men expect profit in what they carry with them to a foreign land?—they need not fear it here, if their goods but suit the country. Would they live in health?—no place so likely to live so in, in this part of America. Would they have plenty of necessaries for food and raiment?—New York, in these, is not unkind; but though a stepmother to those who come from England, yet furnishes them as plentifully, if equally industrious, as their natural country does those who stay behind. In short, there is nothing wanting to make the inhabitants thereof happy but some things which the country cannot help them in, nor yet is guilty of the want thereof, to which either themselves do contribute, or which their ill settlement, or worse government, has introduced, and some things which the few years of their being a province has not yet given any favorable opportunities for, nor permitted to be settled among them; which what they are I shall next proceed to discover and speak of in the best method and order that I can, and with as much brevity as the subject will conveniently admit of, after having first presented to the reader some draughts or ground plots of the most remarkable places already discoursed of, as you will perceive by considering these following figures:—

COUNTIES.	CHURCHES.	MINISTERS.	FAMILIES.
NEW YORK.	Chapel in the fort Dutch Calvinists Dutch Lutheran French Jews Synagogue Haarlem	Dr. Selinus (See Note 13.) Dr. Perot (See Note 14.) Saul Brown (See Note 15.) Dr. Selinus	90 450 30 200 20 25 English 40, Dissenters.
RICHMOND.	A Meeting House	Dr. Bonrepos (See 16.)	English 40 Dutch 44 French 36
KING'S.	Flatbush Utrecht Brookland	Dr. Varick died Aug. 1694, and another sent for May 27, 1695.	300 or 400, chiefly Dutch.
QUEEN'S.	Jamaica, Hampsted, Newtown } Meeting Houses	Mr. Philips, Mr. Vesey*, Mr. Mot† } without any orders.	300 or 400 English, most Dissenters, and some Dutch.
SUFFOLK.	Eight or nine Meeting Houses; almost one at every town.	Seven Ministers, Dissenters, Presbyterian, or Independent. One lately gone to Scotland.	500 or 600 English, and Dissenters for the most part.
WEST CHESTER.	A Meeting House at West Chester.	A young man coming to settle there without any orders. (See Note 19.)	200 or 300 English and Dissenters; few Dutch.
ORANGE.			20 English & Dutch.
DUTCHESS.			30 English & Dutch.
ULSTER.	Dutch Calvinist, at Kingstone, for five or six towns.	A Minister to come, his books brought; but he missed his passage.	300, Dutch mostly; some English and French.
ALBANY.	Dutch Calvinist Dutch Lutheran Scanecthade Kinderhoeck.	Dr. Dellius. (See Note 20.) A Dutch Minister sent for.	400 or 500 Dutch, all Calvinists, except 12 or 14 Lutherans.

* See Note 17. † See Note 18.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE EVILS AND INCONVENIENCES IN NEW YORK.

Come we now to consider those things which I have said to be either wanting or obstructive to the happiness of New York; and here I shall not speak of every slight and trivial matter, but only those of more considerable importance, which I count to be six. 1st, The wickedness and irreligion of the inhabitants; 2d, want of ministers; 3d, difference of opinion in religion; 4th, a civil dissension; 5th, the heathenism of the Indians; and, 6th, the neighborhood of Canada: of every one of these I shall say something as shall be most material.

The first is the wickedness and irreligion of the inhabitants, which abounds in all parts of the province, and appears in so many shapes, constituting so many sorts of sin, that I can scarce tell which to begin withal. But, as a great reason of and inlet to the rest, I shall first mention the great negligence of divine things that is generally found in most people, of what sect or party soever they pretend to be: their eternal interests are their least concern, and, as if salvation were not a matter of moment, when they have opportunities of serving God they care not for making use thereof; or, if they go to church, 'tis but too often out of curiosity, and to find out faults in him that preacheth rather

than to hear their own, or, what is yet worse, to slight and deride where they should be serious. If they have none of those opportunities, they are well contented, and regard it little if there be any who seem otherwise and discontented. Many of them, when they have them, make appear by their actions 'twas but in show; for though at first they will pretend to have a great regard for God's ordinances, and a high esteem for the ministry, whether real or pretended, a little time will plainly evidence that they were more pleased at the novelty than truly affected with the benefit, when they slight that which they before seemingly so much admired, and speak evil of him who before was the subject of their praise and commendation, and that without any other reason than their own fickle temper and envious humour. In a soil so rank as this, no marvel if the Evil One find a ready entertainment for the seed he is minded to cast in; and from a people so inconstant, and regardless of heaven and holy things, no wonder if God withdraw his grace, and give them up a prey to those temptations which they so industriously seek to embrace: hence is it, therefore, that their natural corruption without check or hinderance is, by frequent acts, improved into habits most evil in the practice, and difficult in the correction.

One of which, and the first I am minded to speak, of, is drunkenness, which, though of itself a great sin, is yet aggravated in that it is an occa-

sion of many others. 'Tis in this country a common thing, even for the meanest persons, so soon as the bounty of God has furnished them with a plentiful crop, to turn what they can as soon as may be into money, and that money into drink, at the same time when their family at home have nothing but rags to protect their bodies from the winter's cold; nay if the fruits of their plantations be such as by their own immediate labour convertible into liquor, such as cider, perry, &c., they have scarce the patience to stay till it is fit for drinking, but, inviting their pot-companions, they all of them, neglecting whatsoever work they are about, set to it together, and give not over till they have drunk it off. And to these sottish engagements they will make nothing to ride ten or twenty miles, and at the conclusion of one debauch another generally is appointed, except their stock of liquor fail them. Nor are the mean and country people only guilty of this vice, but they are equalled, nay surpassed, by many in the city of New York, whose daily practice is to frequent the taverns, and to carouse and game their night employment. This course is the ruin and destruction of many merchants, especially those of the younger sort, who, carrying over with them a stock, whether as factors, or on their own account, spend, even to prodigality, till they find themselves bankrupt ere they are aware (see Note 21).

In a town where this course of life is led by

many, 'tis no wonder if there be other vices in vogue, because they are the natural product of it, such are cursing and swearing, to both of which people are here much accustomed; some doing it in that frequent, horrible, and dreadful manner as if they prided themselves both as to the number and invention of them: this, joined with their profane, atheistical and scoffing method of discourse, makes their company extremely uneasy to sober and religious men, who sometimes, by reason of their affairs, cannot help being of their society, and becoming ear-witnesses of their blasphemy and folly. 'Tis strange that men should engage themselves so foolishly, and run into the commission of so great a sin unto which they have no sufficient, often not a pretended, provocation, and from which they reap no advantage nor any real pleasure: and yet we see them even delight in it, and no discourse is thought witty or eloquent except larded with oaths and execrations. Howsoever difficult these sins may be to be corrected in a large and populous kingdom, I should scarce think them so in a province, where the total number of inhabitants will scarce equal the 64,000th (64th) part of those who are computed to be in London; nay, am sure they might be much hindered, were but the good laws made against them put duly in execution.

'Tis an ordinary thing with vices that one of them introduces another, and is a reason of their

easy and common success; and so we see it here. That where men drink to so high a pitch, and pamper their debauched palates with the rich and most nourishing viands the country affords, 'tis certain the flesh must grow high and rebellious, so as imperiously to command where it ought to obey; nay, not to be contented without variety, whatsoever obstacle or impediment lies in the way. Reason, that should rule and direct to better things, is so far debauched, that she pretends to defend the contrary; and by objecting the troubles and confinements of a married state, and extolling the sweet and unconfined pleasures of the wandering libertines, prevails with many not to think fornication, nay, not adultery, dangerous sins, but rather to be chosen than lawful wedlock, the proper and really sufficient (though not to debauched and pampered bodies) remedy for the hinderance of these evils. I say it is a proper and sufficient remedy if duly practiced, and according to law and reason, which in New York it is not; because,

1st. There are many couples live together without ever being married in any manner of way; many of whom, after they have lived some years so, quarrel, and, thereupon separating, take unto themselves, either in New York or some other province, new companions; but, grant they do not so, how can such expect that God should bless them together while they live in open contempt of his holy ordinance?

2d. Those who in earnest do intend to be married together are in so much haste, that, commonly, enjoyment precedes the marriage, to which they seldom come till a great belly puts it so forward, that they must either submit to that, or to shame and disgrace which they avoid by marriage; ante-nuptial fornication, where that succeeds, being not looked upon as any scandal or sin at all.

3d. There is no sufficient provision for the marrying of people in this province, the most that are married here being married by justices of the peace, for which there neither is nor can be in New York any law: (see Note 22,) on this account, many looking upon it as no marriage at all, and being easily induced to think it so when they find themselves pinched by the contract, think it no great matter to divorce themselves, as they term it, and marry to others where they can best, and according to their own liking. Whether this manner of marrying by justices of the peace be a sufficient engagement to the married couple to live together, is to me a matter not disputable; and, in the meanwhile, the scandal and evil that flows from hence is very great: and I myself know at this time a man who fills the place and exercises the office of a minister and school-master in the island of Barbadoes that was married to a woman of New York by a justice of peace, and, after falling out with her, betook himself to another woman, whom he got with child, and went afterwards to Barbadoes,

where, if he be not married to her, at least he lives with her as though she were his wife; the woman the meantime continuing in New York, was soon after married to another man.

4th. Supposing the way of marrying were lawful, yet many justices are so ignorant or mean-spirited, or both, that thereby it comes to pass they are often prevailed upon to marry a couple together that are either one or both of them engaged or married to other persons: an eminent instance hereof I knew in New York. A woman, dissolute in manners, not liking to live with her husband, contracted herself to another person, and came with him to a justice of peace to be married. The justice, knowing the woman to be the wife of another man, refused at first to marry them; but they, understanding he had offended in the like matter before, threatened to acquaint the Governor therewith, if he would not marry them also; which rather than hazard, he granted their request; thus offending the first time through ignorance, and the second through fear. I came to know of it by this means:—the woman thus married outliving her second husband, had inveigled the son of an honest woman of Nassau Island to marry her, her first husband still living: his mother, looking upon such a match as his ruin, sought all she could to hinder it, and, as her last refuge, came to me, desiring me to do what I could that he might not have a license out of the Secretary's office, which I obstructed by entering

a caveat, and so prevented it for that time; and what is done in it since I cannot tell: but this am sure of, that the too frequent practice of this evil is such as loudly calls for redress and amendment.

The great encouragement for gaining a livelihood that is given to people in this province, where whosoever will take pains may have land enough whereon to raise an estate for themselves and heirs, and the mean accommodations or at least the no great riches, of the first inhabitants, have been the reason that thieving and robbing has been very little practised in this country. But now, of late, since some people are become wealthy enough to purchase and have by them what is worth the taking away, and that the out-parts of the province (where the best land is) towards Canada are so harassed by the French and their Indians, that men are fearful to plant and dwell there, and that people are fallen into so great debauchery and idleness, thieving is become more frequent; and many considerable robberies have been committed in my time in New York, to the great discouragement of industrious people, and increase of vice and sin. There are many other wickednesses which I might speak of as wanting redress, but there is no need of enlarging on their account; for, were these of greater note already spoken of discouraged, the rest would of themselves fall to nothing.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MINISTRY, AND DEFICIENCY THEREIN.

A second and great inconveniency this province suffers under is in relation to a ministry; for it is most certain, that where there are persons of some repute and authority living, who give good example by their sober lives and conversations, and diligence in their duty, sin is mightily discouraged, and religion and virtue gain ground upon her daily, and increase and flourish; and that, where there are none such, vice has a free course, and religion continually decays, and, what by the negligence of men, and the malice and subtility of the enemy of all, goodness runs to ruin. Now, in New York, there are either

1, No ministers at all, that is, the settled and established religion of the nation, and of such there is not, oftentimes, one in the whole province; nor at any time, except the Chaplain to his Majesty's forces in New York, (see Note 23,) that does discharge, or pretend to discharge, the duty of a minister, and, he being but one, cannot do it everywhere; nay, but in very few places but New York itself: and being necessitated sometimes to go to England, it happens that both the garrison and the city are without a minister a year together. It happens, also, that he is often changed, which is not

without its inconveniences, but proves very prejudicial to religion in many cases, as is easy to instance: besides, while he does his duty among them, he shall experience their gratitude but very little, and be sure to meet with a great many discouragements, except, instead of reprehending and correcting, he will connive at and soothe people in their sinful courses.

2, Or secondly, if there be any ministers, they are such as only call themselves so, and are but pretended ministers; many of them have no orders at all, but set up for themselves of their own head and authority; or, if they have orders, are Presbyterians, Independents, &c. Now all these have no other encouragement for the pains they pretend to take than the voluntary contributions of the people, or, at best, a salary by agreement and subscription, which yet they shall not enjoy, except they take more care to please the humours and delight the fancies of their hearers, than to preach up true religion and a christian life: hence it comes to pass that the people live very loosely, and they themselves very poorly, at best, if they are not forced for very necessity, and by the malice of some of their hearers, to forsake their congregations. Besides being of different persuasions, and striving to settle such sentiments as they indulge themselves in in the hearts of those who are under their ministry, they do more harm, in distracting and divid-

ing the people, than good in the amending their lives and conversations.

3, Or thirdly, if there be, or have been any ministers, and those ministers of the Church of England, they have been here, and are in other provinces, many of them, such as, being of a vicious life and conversation, have played so many vile pranks, and shewn such an ill light, as has been very prejudicial to religion in general, and the Church of England in particular; or else they have been such as, though sober, yet have been very young, and so, instead of doing good, have been easily drawn into the commission of evil, and become as scandalous as those last mentioned. Now though, as to this last charge, I must not be conceived to speak so much in relation to New York as the other English plantations, because there has been generally, from time to time, but one minister at a time as Chaplain to his Majesties forces there, yet is not New York wholly unconcerned herein, since, there having been several chaplains successive to one another, some have not so carried themselves as to be, and that deservedly, without blame: besides, three that I know of have come by the by, whose either life or knowledge, or both, have not been commendable; and, as I am informed, there is one there now, and another going from Barbadoes, the former not free from all exception, and the latter lying under very great scandal.

CHAPTER IV.

OF DIFFERENCE IN RELIGION.

The province of New York being peopled by several nations, there are manifold and different opinions of religion among them; as to which, though there are but very few of any sect who are either real or intelligent, yet several of the partizans of each sort have every one such a desire of being uppermost, and increasing the number of their own party, that they not only thereby make themselves unhappy by destroying true piety, and setting up instead thereof a fond heat and blind zeal for they know not what, but also industriously obstruct the settlement of the established religion of the nation, which only can make them happy; and have hitherto, either by their craft and cunning, or their money, prospered in their designs; and to do thus they have but too much pretence, from the scandalous lives of some ministers—the matter considered under the former head.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CIVIL DIVISION.

I shall, in the fourth place, reckon as not a small unhappiness to the province of New York the divi-

sion in the civil state happening on this occasion. When his present gracious Majesty came into England to redeem us from Popery and arbitrary power, the news of his success arriving in New England, put some people there upon overturning the government, which they affected: how just their reasons and proceedings were is not my business to inquire, but this action of theirs put the inhabitants of New York upon the like project. Colonel Nicholson, the then Lieutenant Governor, and the council, thought it best to attend orders what they should do from England; and in the meanwhile, the Colonel, to free the people from all jealousies and fears, permitted daily a proportionable part of the city train-bands to have the guard of the fort with the King's soldiers. But Mr. Jacob Leysler, a man of small beginnings, but thence grown a merchant, and about this time decaying in his fortune, and others of his party, were no ways contented with this moderate course proposed, but, pretending fears of being sold or given to the French, and terming all Papists, or popishly affected, who did not favor his designs, seized upon the fort and government too, in the management of which he did many good things; and, if people say truth, was guilty of doing many things that were irregular, and some very bad, as unlawfully imprisoning the King's subjects, taking away their goods by force, designing to kill the natural English and all who joined with them, man,

woman, and child, &c.; so that when Colonel Slaughter came over in March 1691, he and one Mr. Milburn his son-in-law, who had greatly counselled and assisted him in his designs, were tried for their lives and condemned, and, what is more, hanged, to the great sorrow and regret of their whole party, who have vowed revenge, and, some say, want but an opportunity to effect their purpose. I shall not pretend here to enquire into the real intentions or actions of Leysler's party, or those who were against them, neither into the truth of those things which the one party allege against the other; but only say, that, having considered what I have seen done and heard said on the one side and on the other, I do believe that there were some of either side who sought in what they did their own advantage; many who truly did intend his Majesty's service; and many who blindly followed the leading men, neither considering what they did, nor whether they led them; and that these injuries, done by either side to their opposites, have made a most unhappy division and breach among them, which will hardly of a long time admit of cure, except some very prudent and moderate method be used for that purpose more than has already been put in practice (see Note 24).

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE HEATHENISM OF THE INDIANS.

The next thing in this province blameable is the heathenism of the natural Indians, who here, in the very heart of a Christian country, practice their barbarous and devilish customs and modes of worship, notwithstanding it is now sixty years and more since Christians first inhabited this country, and thirty years since the English were possessed thereof. Indeed, there is something to be said in excuse hereof, that is, the unsettledness of the country for a long time, the several changes of government it has undergone, and the small number of the English at present; and something to be objected, that is, that it would be first reasonable to settle religion among those who are professed Christians before we pretend to the conversion and settlement of the Indians. To which I answer, that, as what is passed must be excused, since it can't be helped, so, I see no reason in the objection, because a sufficient provision may be made, that one thing may be done and the other not left undone; especially when the Indians are so inclinable to receive the Christian faith, as they have made appear they are, both by that considerable number of the Mohawks whom Dr. Dellius has converted, (though by a method not so exact and prevalent as

might be used,) and those Oneidas converted to Popery by the jesuit Millet, (see Note 25,) much to the advantage of the French, who have debauched so many of our Indians as they have made Christians, and obliged, by so doing, some of our Mohawks so much, that one of them, as I have heard, having run away from us to them, and, thereupon, being upbraided with his infidelity in forsaking his old friends, in his own defence made answer, that he had lived long among the English, but they had never all that while had so much love for him as to instruct him in the concerns of his soul, and shew him the way to salvation, which the French had done upon their first acqaintance with him; and, therefore, he was obliged to love and be faithful to them, and engage as many of his nation as he could to go along with him and to partake of the same knowledge and instructions that were afforded and imparted to him, so that it appears to be a work not only of great charity but of almost absolute necessity to endeavor the conversion of the five nations and other Indians, lest they be wholly debauched by the French, and become, by God's just permission, for our neglect therein, of faithful and true friends, as they have been hitherto, most dangerous and cruel enemies.

CHAPTER VII.

OF CANADA.

Canada, (see Note 26,) although not in this province, but far distant from it, is yet a great enemy to the peace and happiness of it. First, as it is the reason why the most fruitful part thereof lies at present waste, forsaken by its former inhabitants, and hindered as to its future improvements. Second, as it is the reason why His Majesty and the remainder of this province are at great charges in maintaining Albany and the frontiers against the insults of the French and their Indians. Third, as they debauch our Indians from their fidelity, and instruct them in popery, both which at present are, and hereafter will be, much to the damage of this province: add hereunto that, by the damage they do to the other provinces [of] New England, and are at all times ready to do, they put the king of England and his subjects to a great deal more charge to defend themselves than the king of France, or the jesuits (if it be their country, as some say it is) are at to defend Canada against us,though we are in all over twenty times their number; besides, the governors of New York that have been from time to time have so often promised our Indians, to encourage them to continue the war, that they would send for ships

from England to come and wholly subdue and conquer Canada, that they, seeing they do not come, and that Sir Francis Wheeler, when at Boston, attempted nothing, begin to be discontented, and to charge the governor with breach of promise, and are very wavering in their fidelity and friendship towards the English; so that it appears a matter highly requisite to be endeavoured to conquer and subdue Canada, and that before it grow stronger in fortifications than at present it is; and, indeed, it is a shame it should not be effected, when we so much exceed them in strength in those parts, and when, if it please God to prosper us therein, we shall not only be freed from the charges which at present every province is at, more or less, but Canada may be so settled that it may be a great addition of strength and wealth to the English in America, without being, in a little time, any charge, but rather a benefit to the crown, as by a method to be laid down for the subduing and re-settlement of it, shall, as I trust, in due time and place appear. And now I have finished the consideration of the province of New York, and of those things therein or relating thereto which, being of greater moment or consequence, are worthy of blame and correction; and shall now lay down the means and method which I conceive proper for the remedying thereof, and thereby of advantaging and improving the country, which I shall do in three chapters: the first treating of the

more general means; the second containing a particular method for the conversion of the Indians; and the third proposing a way for the subduing and resettlement of Canada.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE MORE GENERAL MEANS FOR CORRECTING THE EVILS IN NEW YORK.

The great, most proper, and as I conceive effectual, means to remedy and prevent all the disorders I have already mentioned, and promote the settlement and improvement of religion and unity, both among the English subjects that are already Christians and the Indians supposed to be made so, is, that his Majesty will graciously please to send over a bishop to the province of New York, who, if duly qualified, impowered, and settled, may, with the assistance of a small force for the subduing of Canada, by God's grace and blessing be author of great happiness, not only to New York in particular, but to all the English plantations on that part of the continent of America in general. I doubt not but this proposal may, at first sight, seem very strange and unlikely to be effected; but if what follows be duly weighed and considered, I believe it will not appear wholly unreasonable.

It has heretofore been usual in England, when and where the dioceses have been so large that the

bishop alone could not suffice for the government thereof, to adjoin to him one or more suffragan bishops, each of which were wont to execute such power, jurisdiction, and authority, and receive such profits as were limited in their commission by the bishop or diocesan whose suffragans they were. Such an one, I humbly conceive, might be very well sent over to the north-east part of America, to to be there and act as suffragan to my Lord of London. To do this, as I doubt not his Majesty's power, so I cannot think my Lord of London will be unwilling; and I am sure the great distance of the country, being 3000 miles from England, the largeness of the provinces considered altogether, and number of the people, with the other particulars already mentioned, do sufficiently require it. In hopes, therefore, that such a proposal as this will meet with good entertainment, or with a charitable and candid construction, at the least, among those who can best promote it, I shall proceed to mention some things which will much conduce to the bishop's better entertainment and success (see Note 27).

And, first, I shall speak of his personal qualifications; second of the place of his residence; third, of the powers to be committed to him; and, fourth, of the provision to be made for his maintenance.

1.—Among his personal qualifications I must, in the first place, reckon his age, his learning, and his piety, which, being particulars not fit for me to

speak of, I shall pass them by, and leave them to the prudent judgment and determination of that pious prelate whose suffragan he is to be. But because I am something acquainted with the humours and inclinations of the inhabitants of that country, I shall make bold to add, that it is requisite he be a person of an obliging temper and conversation, who, having power to compel, will rather persuade and win to obedience by kind acts and generous usage; one whose deportment must vindicate his person and place from contempt, and yet must be, when occasions require, so meek, complaisant, and free, that even the meanest may not have reason to count him proud. One whose generous soul must always aim at good and laudable actions, and whose humility and love to virtue must be so great and real as that he will not think much to submit to low condescensions, inferior means, and continual pains to bring a pious and possible design to perfection: one that can so justly esteem of riches as to think it a necessary care to manage his income well, that he may have wherewithal to forward and encourage a good work, and yet so little affect and love them, as freely to part with them to pious and charitable uses; and, lastly, one that will both constantly practice those eminent notes of true Christianity, love and charity, himself, and promote them among all those who call themselves disciples of the crucified Jesus.

2.—The place of his residence, as I have already

intimated, will most properly be in the province and city of New York, for which there are several reasons:—first, the healthfulness of the country, the air being clear and pure, and the climate most agreeable to an English constitution, so that few or none contract diseases on that account, but many are freed from them; second, because a maintenance will be more easily settled for him in this province than in any other, after the manner I shall presently set down; third, because this is the most proper place to begin a reformation of disorders in, which are here greater than any where else, and yet will be more easily regulated; and to settle the government of the church of England, a matter whose foundation being already laid, though at present hindered, will yet, with a little pains, be put into a good forwardness; fourth, for the site of it, this country is as much as may be in the midst of all the other English plantations, so that a bishop being placed therein, his good influences and care will be readily dispensed for the benefit of every part; fifth, because there are already such forces in this province, that is, 300 soldiers in his majesty's pay, as will be sufficient to awe troublesome and pragmatical spirits, if there be any so bold as to endeavour to make any disturbance upon his going over.

3.—The power and authority requisite for him are these following:—first, that he be consecrated bishop by the archbishop, and duly impowered by

my Lord of London, so that he may act as suffragan bishop to him, not only in New York, but also in all the English provinces in that part of America; second, that his Majesty, uniting the provinces of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Rhode Island into one government, will please (see Note 28,) to send him over governor thereof, allowing him all the powers and privileges granted usually to the governors of New York, with power also to go out of his province so often as he shall think good to visit the other provinces as bishop only, and to constitute, not only for the time of his absence but if he see necessary at all other times, a lieutenant governor under him.

Note, that this union of the four governments proposed is not of absolute necessity, only of great convenience, so that it may be omitted (especially if Canada be subdued,) and the bishop be made governor of New York only, with the powers and priviliges before mentioned.

4.—That a maintenance may not be wanting suitable to his place and the great ends he is to promote, neither for the present nor future, it is requisite,

First, that if his Majesty is pleased to unite the four governments into one, that then he will please also to allow the bishop, as governor thereof, £1500 per annum, out of which a reasonable part or portion shall be paid to the lieutenant governor; or if New York be continued as it is at present, and he

sent over as governor thereof only, that then his Majesty will please to allow him £1000 per ann. salary (out of which the lieutenant governor to have a reasonable part,) and all the other profits, benefits, and privileges which the present governor of New York enjoys; and also leave and power to search for (if he please) and open royal mines, as of silver, etc., if he can find any such, either in Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, or New Jersey, on condition that in so doing he make use of the service of negroes only, and to pay to his Majesty such a proportion of the metal as, the charges and goodness of the ore considered, shall seem reasonable.

Second, That, to make up the abatement of his salary by that part allowed the lieutenant governor, his Majesty will please, so soon as opportunity presents, to give him some considerable preferment in England that does not require his personal residence.

Third, That his Majesty will please to allow him all licenses of marriage and probates of wills, and other things usually belonging to the bishops of England, and at present withheld from my Lord of London, and these to be given to himself as bishop, and those who shall be sent after him to serve in that station, now only in the province of New York and its dependencies, but hereafter in the other provinces also, so soon as religion shall come to be fully established therein: these particulars, if

granted, will well suffice for a present maintenance; but then we must not neglect to propose a method of providing and settling a future maintenance that may be peculiar to himself as bishop, when he is so only, not constituted governor, as at present he is supposed to be, but when some other gentleman is sent over in that station, that he may then have wherewithal to maintain his family and keep up hospitality. Besides what [is] already considered, that will then remain to him, these further particulars are necessary to be put in practice:—

1. That his Majesty will please to give him the farm in New York, commonly called the king's farm, for a seat for himself and successors, which, though at present a very ordinary thing, yet will it admit of considerable improvement; and since this farm, renting at present for sixty bushels of wheat per annum, in the whole at four shillings per bushel, amounting to £12 New York money, is at present an advantage to the governor, that I may not seem not to care how much I impoverish the governor so I enrich the bishop, I further propose that the bishop be obliged, when himself is not governor, to render an equivalent to the present rent, either by giving yearly so many loads of hay, or by settling so much land where he please, within two miles of New York, as shall be sufficient for that purpose, or to pay the sum of money itself, which shall be best approved of.

2. That his Majesty will please, by letters patent,

to grant him the propriety of the Mohawks land, that is, so much thereof as is now unpurchased of the Indians, on condition that the first improvement he makes thereof shall be to settle in one or two towns, as shall seem best, 100 English families, on 5000 or 6000 acres of good land, the whole to be settled on himself as bishop, and his successors; and, for his encouragement, so to do with all the other land to be improved by him afterwards, as shall be best for the particular benefit and advantage of himself and heirs.

And that the Bishop may be the better furnished for some particular works of charity, such as converting the Indians, building churches, settling houses and a maintenance for ministers, etc., it is further humbly proposed—

1. That his Majesty, the Bishops, and other charitably disposed gentlemen, will please to make some contributions towards building a church in New York.

2. That his Majesty and my Lord of London, will please to give him the best authority and directions that may be for the obtaining a part of the revenue settled in New England for converting the Indians, such as shall be thought convenient.

3. That his Majesty will please to allow a chaplain to the soldiers at Albany in particular (to be paid out of the advance of their pay) who are lately gone over, and to be sometimes changed with him at New York.

4. Lastly, it is necessary that the Bishop carry over with him five or six sober young ministers, with bibles and prayer books, and other things convenient for churches, as shall be thought best.

Whosoever goes over with these powers, qualifications, and supplies, shall in a short time (through God's assistance) be able to make a great progress in the settlement of religion, and the correction of vice and debauchery in those countries; and, to be a little more particular,—

1. To those several vices of irreligion, drunkenness, cursing and swearing, fornication and adultery, thieving, and other evils accompanying them, he may put a stop by causing the good laws of England already made to be put in execution, and by providing others where those seem or are deficient; and also,

2. Which will remedy likewise the second head of inconveniences, want of a ministry, by settling ministers in those towns already provided for by Act of Assembly in some measure, and, as he best can, by supplying them with what is wanting, both for their private necessities and for the public exercise of religion, as allotting to them or purchasing for them glebe lands, promoting the building of churches, ministers' houses, settling schools with salaries, &c., by endeavoring so soon as may be, to provide for other places which are not provided for by that act, by exhorting, and, where good advice and persuasions will not prevail, by compelling,

ministers to live piously and soberly, and give a good example to their flocks.

3. By not suffering any justice of peace to marry in the province within ten miles of the place where any minister dwells, and endeavoring to promote the establishment of the like law in other provinces where it may conveniently be done, by causing the ministers and churchwardens to keep registers of all christenings, buryings, and marriages, according as in England is by law appointed, and always to take great care to prevent the marrying of any persons who are either one or both of them already engaged or married to others.

4. And where this is duly taken care of, another inconveniency will be well provided for. Men, although at present of many and different opinions, yet may be reconciled, in a great measure, by a pious and prudent ministry, who will seek to reduce them by good exhortations, to oblige them by neighbourly and charitable kindnesses, to encourage them by their own practice to live in the fear of God, and in brotherly love and unity one with another.

5. And though this method will greatly help towards the removal of the fourth inconveniency, yet it will not be completed without the assistance of his civil authority; that is, by causing a proclamation, or, if it seem necessary, an Act of Assembly, to be made, prohibiting all people to reproach any person for having been of Leysler's

or the contrary party; to vex or sue one another in law for any evils suffered in those times, or since; or to do any thing that may tend to the widening the breach or continuing the remembrance thereof, commanding them to forget things past, and to forgive one another; to live in peace, and to associate together as they did before that division, and as if such a thing had never happened: and by shewing himself indifferent to both parties, encouraging equally those of them who show themselves honest and virtuous, and truly well affected to his Majesty's interest. Thus may these several inconveniencies already mentioned be well redressed; but as for the conversion of the Indians, and the conquest of Canada, they will require, each of them, a particular chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

OF CONVERTING THE INDIANS.

When I speak of converting the Indians, by Indians I mean, principally, those five nations which lie between Albany and Canada, and are called: 1, Mohawks or Maquaes; 2, Oneides; 3, Chiugas; 4, Onundages; and 5, Penecas: (see Note 29,) of whom tho' most of the Mohawks are converted to Christianity by Dr. Dellius, and some of the Oneides

by the jesuit Millet; yet the first not being yet established in any good order at all, and the last being converted to popery, I look upon the work as yet wholly to be done; and if what has been already done is not a disadvantage to it, yet that little advantage is gained thereby, except a demonstration of inclination of the Indians to embrace the Christian religion. And though I mention only the five nations, yet do I not speak of them so as excluding all other septs and nations of them; no—for I hope this, once performed and brought to a good pass, may be as a ground work to the conversion of all the rest, as opportunity shall present; yea, possibly may be improved so far as to render this part of the continent truly civilized, speaking the English language, and submitting to his Majesty's government. And to begin,—

First.—That the person who undertakes this work should be a person of great authority, ability, and power, that he may the better persuade with them, and be the more respected, and abler to go through with such a matter, are things of so great advantage, that if they were not things already provided for, do deserve certainly to be put in the first place; but it being proposed that the bishop himself who shall be sent over be the main-spring and mover in this work, I therefore, without saying more thereof, add,

Second.—That when he goes out of England he carry over with him one Dutch and English diction-

ary, interleaved with white paper; paper of several sorts and in considerable quantity, for writing and printing books thereon; nails, iron, glass, and lead, for the churches and ministers' houses; tools for joiners, carpenters, masons and glaziers, in such quantities as shall be thought convenient, or at least as the monies given for that purpose will allow.

Third.—That after his arrival there, he, with two other ministers whom he shall best approve of to be his assistants, set to learning that Indian language which is best understood by all the five nations; and for that purpose send for, and entertain in some employment about him, Mr. Arnhout, of Albany, (see Note 30,) the chief interpreter between the English and the Indians, who will be a great help to him in composing a dictionary, and learning the language; and get an Indian Bible and grammar from Boston, which will be likewise of some advantage to him.

Fourth.—That after he can speak Indian well, and translate elegantly, he then, as opportunity shall best present, call all the five nations together, and endeavour, in a discourse composed for that purpose, to instruct them, and, by the best arguments he can, to persuade them to embrace the Christian faith and be baptized; in which if it please God he succeeds, as there is great hopes he may, then—

1st.—To desire of the five nations so many sober young men of each nation as he shall think con-

venient to live with him some time, and learn to read and write in their own language, and also to speak the English tongue, and read and write in the same; and some others, in number about twelve, to learn the trades of joinery, carpentry, masonry, and glazing; and, in the meantime, while they are learning these things, one of the two ministers shall be appointed to instruct the Indians in Christianity, as may best be done, and to bring over those who do not consent upon the first proposal.

2d.—While the other minister is learning the young Indians to read, etc. himself, with his assistance, may translate, as of the greatest use and necessity, the Common Prayer Book, the thirty-nine Articles, the Whole Duty of Man, and Patrick's Psalms; and then afterwards, as they best may, ( ) Short explanation of the Church Catechism, Dr. Hammond's Catechism, some short preparatory form for receiving the holy communion, a morning and evening Prayer for private persons, and a Primer for children, with a short morning and evening Prayer, and Graces before and after meat; so many copies of each to be printed as shall be thought convenient, and no other book besides them to be translated or printed in the Indian language, especially not the Bible, that the (see Note 31,) Indians, through a desire to read them, may be stirred up to learn the English language, and so at length may be induced to exchange

that for their own; for otherwise, the Indian nations being so many, it will be almost an impossible work to convert them and provide for their civilizing and instruction.

3d.—After the young men can read and write well, and are acquainted with our language, customs, and religious service, the manner and way thereof (in which they, as also those put to trades, are to be inured as much as may be), and admitted to holy orders, then to dispose of them, settling one in every castle, except where two small castles are near to one another, for both which one may well suffice; and, for their better settlement, to cause to be built a church, a minister's house, and large room adjoining to it for a school, of wood or stone, as shall seem best and cheapest, (in which work the labour of those who learn trades will be very helpful); and after those things are perfected, gathering all the heads of the five nations together, to cause a maintenance by land to be settled for their ministry, that is the tenth part of their profit or income by hunting, fishing, fowling, etc., and of their corn and other fruits of the earth, with some peculiar advantages upon the account of their being schoolmasters, as it is intended they shall be. Those who are instructed in trades are to live among their countrymen, to teach them their arts; and that they may find employment, they are to be put upon building houses after the English manner, keeping cattle and fowls, ploughing the ground,

and imitating the English in their other trades, ways of living, and customs, and one thing after another, that so, by degrees they may leave off their savage ways and become civilized, which, except it can be effected, it will signify but little to plant religion among them; therefore, so many other young sober Indians as shall be thought convenient may be taken in the places of those who are settled as ministers, and taught and instructed after the same manner they were, and put in their places too so soon as fit for it, either when any of them prove debauched, or improve not in knowledge, or neglect their duty (who in that case shall again be under instruction for their amendment or better information), or where any of them prove of eminent parts above the rest, and more sober and religious, who shall then be encouraged and allowed fit helps and instructions for the promoting the conversion of their neighbouring nations, which they may well do with the assistance of an English minister or two and the countenance of the bishop; and so in a few years, if this method be duly prosecuted, all the Indians on this part of the continent may, as'tis to be hoped, be converted to Christianity; and, when they are civilized, may easily be induced to submit to the English government by the bishop, whom they must needs look upon, respect, and obey as their spiritual father, and one who will, to be sure, advise them as shall be most for their real benefit and welfare. And when they come to such

a pass as that way can be made and means settled for arts and sciences to flourish among them, there is no doubt but many of them will become men of sufficient learning so that they may be instructed in the way of preaching, and have the full government and service of the Church of England settled among them, or acquainted with our laws, so as to be made magistrates, and govern the people by our statutes instead of their own rude and barbarous customs. The first of which when perfected, as it will be a great credit to the Church of England, so will the other be of great advantage to the civil state thereof; and both, I hope, tend to the glory of God and the eternal felicity of immortal souls.

But, till these designs can be fully accomplished, we must be contented to insist upon a method of religion that, though not complete as it should be, is yet such as the beginnings of Christianity among them will bear, and as is proper for weak teachers and ignorant hearers, and that to be this that follows:—

The ministers' duty in general among them is to be this: to pray for them, to read and administer the sacraments to them, to teach their children to read and to write, and speak English and their catechism, and to be thus ordered:

1st. He is to read Common Prayer among them (the lessons out of the Bible excepted) every Sunday and holyday, both morning and evening.

2d. On Easter Sunday, Whitsunday, the third Sunday in September, and on Christmas-day, after Common Prayer read in the morning and a psalm sung, he shall read to the people the thirty-nine articles of religion, and every other Sunday one portion of "The Whole Duty of Man," as they shall fall in order, and, when the whole is read out, shall begin again.

3d. Every first Sunday of the month, and on Good Friday, Easter-day, Whitsunday, and Christmas day, he shall administer the holy sacrament; and then the Sunday preceding such administration, upon notice thereof given, shall be read the exhortation in the Common Prayer-book appointed for that purpose.

4th. Every Sunday in the afternoon, at evening prayer, when the first and second lessons should be read in place thereof, after a psalm set he shall publicly catechise the children; those that are able to read, unto eight years of age, in the Church Catechism, from eight to twelve years of age in ( ) Short explanation thereof, and those from twelve to sixteen years of age in Dr. Hammond's Catechism, after which they may be admitted to the sacrament. The several catechisms shall be learned by heart by the children at home and at school.

5th. On the working days he shall teach the chidren to write, and to read, and to speak English; for their reading using a Horn-book, The Primer,

the Church Catechism, etc.; for teaching English, to use those and the English translations of them, together with the other books, and also a grammar, with familiar dialogues to be composed for that purpose, and the Dictionary.

And by the just and constant observance of this method, there is no doubt but, through God's grace, they may be brought to and continued in a reasonable knowledge and practice of the Christian religion, till such time as, being thoroughly civilized, the whole discipline and government of the Church of England may be settled among them, and also duly practiced and observed by them.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE METHOD HOW TO SUBDUE AND RESETTLE CANADA.

I AM now in the last place to speak of the conquest of Canada, that is, how it may be effected, a business in which, though the Bishop is not so much concerned as in the former, especially as to the warlike part, yet may he be more than a cipher, yea, of particular consideration in the settlement of it, if it please God to permit it to be subdued, as in the sequel will appear.

What the strength and condition of Canada is at present is pretty well made evident by the account thereof which I sent over about ten or twelve

months ago to the Right Reverend Bishop of London, a copy whereof I also had, which I lost (when I was taken prisoner) with my other papers, and in respect to that it is that this present method is laid down; and though it may be supposed, since that time, to be made rather stronger than become weaker, yet will it not, I think, be able to resist, if courageously invaded and prudently assaulted with the forces, and in the manner hereafter mentioned:—

1st. The first thing then to be done, in order to the conquest of Canada, is to pitch upon a general for the conducting and carrying it on; the general, then, is to be but one to command all forces, both by sea and land, that are sent or appointed for this purpose: for long experience has taught us, that equal and divided commands have ruined many noble undertakings and great armies. The wise and warlike Romans found this true, and, therefore, in their wars of greatest moment and danger, they generally had recourse to a dictator; and the success in the late invasion of Martinico has taught us the truth of it, wherein, as I have been credibly informed by impartial and eye-witnesses, the difference between the land and sea generals was the main, if not only, occasion of the miscarriage. As to his prudence, fidelity, experience, conduct, and courage, all great virtues and necessary in a commander, I have no need to speak thereof; his sacred Majesty, who is to pitch upon

and commissionate him, being a most excellent and incomparable judge in those matters.

2d. The second thing to be provided for is forts, and warlike provisions sufficient for such a design, and these to be either sent for [from] England or prepared in America. The forces to be sent from England are proposed to be three ships of war of from forty to sixty guns, well rigged and manned according to their rates, furnished with all warlike provisions necessary for sea-service and maintenance of the men; as to which there may be six months provision of beer and water, and of beef, pork, oatmeal, peas, and bread, etc., for twelve months, canvass for 4000 or 5000 hammocks, or rather so many hammocks ready made for the forces that are to be raised in America; and, for the land service, 500 soldiers, well armed and accoutred, young, stout, well exercised, and, so far as may be, unmarried; twenty pieces of ordnance proper for battering of walls, with spunges, ladles, worms, powder, and bullets, etc., and two or three mortar pieces with granado shells, bombs, carcasses, spades, mattocks, and also powder and ball for the forces to be raised in America, that nothing may be wanting, though the enterprise prove much more difficult than is expected, it being much better to bring back ammunition than to fail in a design for want of it: however, as to the quantities and kinds thereof, I submit to better judgments, and shall only say that it will be a commendable

care to see that the officers, both by sea and land, be such as are truly faithful and loyal to his Majesty. These ships, with all the particulars aforesaid, are to be ready to set sail by the middle, or, at farthest, by the latter end of February next.

The forces to be prepared in America, are to be these and in this proportion following:—New England 2000 men, Connecticut 700, Rhode Island and Martins-vineyard 200, New York 300, New Jersey 300, Pennsylvania 300, Maryland 400, Virginia 1000, and Carolina 300, amounting in all to the number of 5500, each man to have in readiness so much powder and ball as shall be judged requisite; and, if it be thought expedient, twenty carriages also may be made in New York for the twenty guns, to be sent over according to measures and directions to be sent likewise for that purpose.

The manner of ordering these forces and materials to be prepared shall be laid down under the next head, which is concerning the secrecy and privacy wherewith these affairs are to be carried on, which ought to be great so that the enemies may not get any foreknowledge of it; for, next to strengthening ourselves, nothing is more necessary than to endeavour to surprise our enemy, which is done, first by rendering him secure; second, by coming upon him unawares; and, third, by drawing away what strength or provision he already hath, as far as may be, from the place or places against which our designs are chiefly laid, which I conceive may

be done by ordering affairs in this manner following:—

1st. To prevent all knowledge, or even suspicion, of what is intended by the provisions made at home and sent over, the ships may be pretended as convoys to the Must fleet, and to the Virginia fleet; and as to the stores put aboard them, it must be done as privately as may be, though, of itself, it be a thing that will not much be suspected, because it has been usual to send over stores to the American plantations, neither will the soldiers be much taken notice of, they being but 500; besides, they may be put on board at Plymouth suddenly, and under pretence of better manning the ships; or, if there goes a squadron of men of war to guard the fleet out of the Channel, it may be pretended that it is to inure them to the sea service; and then they may be disposed of to several other ships, as if they were to come back again therewith after having seen the fleet out of danger; and at sea they may be put aboard the ships in which they are to go to New York: in short, many ways may be thought of for the concealing the intention of so small a preparation, and that particularly pitched upon which will seem most likely and proper for the time. But, then, besides the orders given to the captains of the ships publicly, and for that purpose, they must likewise have other sealed orders given them very privately, with command not to break them open till a certain time to be appointed, that is,

when they come to separate from the fleet, or when the fleet itself comes to separate, or, if they chance to be separated by foul weather, then to break open those orders wherein it shall be appointed them what port to go to, that is, New York; what commander to obey, that is the same who is made general of the land forces; how long to stay, that is, either till the design is effected, or till the coming out of some fleet according as the governor of the province where they are shall judge best for his Majesty's service; or if there be a great necessity and the ships proper, they may be sent out to cruise for privateers, or they may be ordered to visit Newfoundland by the way. One thing seems here proper to be mentioned, that is, that when these orders are opened, and the soldiers come to have some knowledge where they are going, their pay may be paid them till such time as they came aboard, and further advantages promised them for their encouragement.

It will not be amiss, if two French ministers, that are in orders of the Church of England, be sent over with these ships, for, if it please God the design prosper, there will be occasion for them.

2. For the more private carrying on of the design as to the forces prepared in the West Indies, it is convenient not to let it be so much as known to any person there (except that his Majesty shall please to communicate it to any of the governors) what is the true cause of raising the forces ordered

to be raised, and that may be done thus: It is now, while I am writing this, certain, that the French have a design upon the merchants trading on the coast of Guinea, and those trading into the West Indies. In order to the carrying on of the first, they are fitting out at St. Maloes four privateers, of from forty to fifty guns, and Monsieur de Gatine, commissary there, sent for one Captain —— Piles, and Henry Pinson his mate, both taken on board a small Guineaman, and having good knowledge of the coast and trade, and present condition of affairs there, to examine them concerning the same. And in order to the carrying on of the last, the English prisoners that came about four days ago, that is, October the 6th, last past, from Nants, do assure us, that the French are there fitting out seventeen privateers of from twenty-five and thirty to forty guns, whereof twelve are already rigged and fitted, to be manned in part with English, Scotch, and Irish, and to be sent to the West Indies, to interrupt and spoil our trade, and make prize of our merchantmen there. Hereupon occasion may be very well taken, and letters ordered to be written and sent with duplicates thereof by ships in December next ensuing, or the beginning of January, to every one of his Majesty's governors, and also to those of the proprietors, wherein to be signified to each of them, that there is certain intelligence from France of their fitting out divers ships of war, twenty or more, and that they are intended

against our plantations in America. That, therefore, it is his Majesty's strict charge and command, that every one of them cause to be armed, in their several provinces, such a number of their choicest men as shall, by one, two, or three hundred, exceed the number before set down, and to meet at their chief port town by the 1st of April, and there to see that they be well armed, and every man provided with a proportion of powder and ball, to be appointed and to exercise them daily till further order; and, in the meantime, to see that whatsoever of his Majesty's ships are in their several ports, be cleaned and fitted for sea, so as to be ready to sail with the first order; and also to fit and prepare a sufficient number of good ships and sloops, and provisions of bread, beef, beer, pork, and peas, etc. for six months, in case there be occasion to transport the soldiers from their province to any other where it shall appear the enemy does chiefly intend his invasion, of which warning may be promised them by an express so soon as there shall be certain notice thereof.

And over and above this, orders may be sent to the Governor of New York, in particular, to make the twenty carriages as before; and to cause to attend at New York, from the 1st of April till further order, Robert Sanders of Albany, and five others that can give the latest and truest account of the present state and condition of Canada, without letting them know what they are caused to wait for,

but only, in general, that it is for his Majesty's service; and that they shall be paid for the loss of their time, or else they may be kept under arms as men of special service and courage, which shall seem best to him, for concealing the true reason of their attendance. As for the carriages, he may pretend for the making thereof, that he has notice of so many guns of such a sort or bigness coming over, and order to have carriages for them in as much readiness as may be; that so soon as he has them they may be presently fitted for use, and planted where he shall think most convenient.

There may likewise with these, other orders be sent him, not to be broken open till the 1st of April, wherein it may be signified unto him that his Majesty, looking upon the French preparations as intended against New York, would send some ships of war over to his assistance, but that he immediately endeavour to stop any intelligence thereof from going to Canada. That he also send the several orders therein enclosed to the governors of the several provinces, to cause them forthwith to send away the exact number of forces chosen out of those armed and exercised according to former order, to the port of New York, he in the meanwhile to make all the preparation he can of victuals and lodging to entertain them, and, when they shall be arrived, to see they be well armed, and to exercise them, and acquaint them with the way of

camping and engaging, till such time as the ships, and a commander-in-chief with them, shall come.

Again, to divert the enemy from the care of those places against which this design is chiefly laid, that is Quebeck, and their other places of greatest strength, a third order must yet be sent to the Governor of New York, appointing him to raise the Indians of the five nations, and to join with them 200 of the garrison and forces about Albany, 200 from New England, and 100 from Connecticut (for the obtaining whereof orders are also to be sent him by the first ships), and to have them ready, so that on the 1st of May they may be ready to march towards Canada; and there, by endeavouring, or pretending to endeavour, something that shall tend notably to the advantage of our party and the disadvantage of the French, as the fortifying and settling Cadaraque, or, seizing on some French garrison, to draw down the Governor of Canada and his forces towards them, but to take great care to keep in places of security, and not to be too active, but only while away the time, and delude the enemy, unless he sees he can gain a considerable advantage without any great hazard of his men.

Lastly, the commander-in-chief sent from England is to receive his commission for this service privately from his Majesty, wherein to be appointed commander-in-chief of all the aforesaid forces by sea and land, as well as those on Albany side as those which are to be transported by sea to Canada,

with orders to sail directly for New York; and there, embarking his forces, with all possible speed, to make the best of his way for Canada, to prevent as much as he can any notice the enemy may have of his coming, and with instructions to make use of the foresaid Sanders and the others, appointed to give him information of the country and places of landing and advantages; to keep his soldiers from plundering, deflouring women, drunkenness, swearing, cursing, and all other debauchery; to proceed prudently, courageously, and valiantly, in the endeavouring to conquer Canada, till such time as it is thoroughly subdued, and then to return as shall be ordered and directed by his Majesty. There are other things to be added to his instructions in case he succeeds, which you will find couched among what follows.

In case, then, that this design succeed, his Majesty may please to appoint the bishop proposed to be sent over governor of New York, to be also governor of Canada, and every part and place thereof, as it shall come to be subdued, with power to constitute a lieutenant-governor thereof at his discretion, till such time as his Majesty's pleasure is further known; with power also, to appoint and order all matters ecclesiastical, and civil, as shall be best for the setting that province in the possession of the English.

Orders and instructions to be given, both to the

bishop as governor, and to the commander-in-chief, may [be] these:—

1.—That special and constant care be taken that the soldiers and seamen straggle not from the camp, nor plunder the country, burn houses, or destroy the corn, either growing or in the barn, nor the cattle of what sort soever, but that they preserve all things as in a country which it is hoped may come through God's assistance to be their own; and, therefore,

2.—All provisions, of what sort or nature soever, whether for man or beast, are to be secured for and given notice of to the governor and commander-in-chief, or either of them, that they may appoint what quantities thereof shall be sufficient for the maintenance of the army, or the prisoners, or victualling the ships for their voyage homeward.

3.—All prisoners are to belong to the King (slaves only excepted), to be civilly treated and used, and to be disposed of as the governor shall appoint, which may be after this or the like manner:—those who are of best quality, with the priests and other religious persons, to be sent home to England by the ships of war; two hundred families of husbandmen that are willing to stay, to be left and settled upon reasonable and encouragable terms, as tenants to those gentlemen and others to whom lands shall be given; three hundred or four hundred families more to be appointed for New York, where,

if they are willing, they may be encouraged by the bishop to settle on vacant land, and in time may be converted to Protestantism by French ministers sent over for that purpose, and obliged to learn and use the English tongue and religion, and all the rest may be divided proportionably to each province, to be carried thither in the ships belonging thereto, where they may be encouraged to settle if they will, and, if it be thought for the weal of the province to encourage them, or otherwise to be sent prisoners to England in merchant ships, as opportunity shall present.

4.—All the ships taken in the voyage thither, or in port there, to be condemned in the first English port they come to, and to be disposed of by the governor there, as is appointed by law in such cases. And all towns, forts, castles, houses, instruments of husbandry, as ploughs, carts, harrows, etc., and working cattle, as horses, oxen, asses—and all warlike provisions, as great guns, small arms, powder, ball, swords, bagonets, etc., and the whole country, improved, or unimproved, to belong to the king, and to be disposed of by the governor as shall be best for his majesty's interest and advantage, and encouraging their settlement of the province, except as in the article following.

5.—All things belonging to religion and ecclesiastics, as churches, monasteries, nunneries, with the grounds and estates belonging to them, as also the money, plate, books, and all things in them

and belonging to them, as horses, cows, sheep, instruments of husbandry, household stuff, and also the books found any where in other houses, to be given to pious uses, and to be disposed of by the bishop, and settled as shall seem to him best for the encouragement of religion in Canada, New York, or elsewhere, in any other of the English provinces; only to be excepted, that if there be any goods or chattels, whether money, plate, household stuff, or other things proved not to belong unto religious persons or uses, but put there only for concealment and security, etc., they are, in that case, to be delivered up, and ordered by the bishop to be laid to the common spoil, and, as such, to be divided with the rest among the soldiers.

6.— All other goods, not before excepted, whether money, plate, slaves, household stuff, or merchandize, etc., shall be gathered together and divided between the officers and soldiers, as is usual to be done in such cases; in which division the governor shall have an equal share with the commander-in-chief, and the rest according to their proportion. And, for the better and more equal division, it shall be appointed, 1st, That all men concerned in the service, seamen or soldiers, shall have part of the spoil without being defrauded or cozened thereof. 2d, that the Indian goods, as duffels, shirts, knives, hatchets, etc., be particularly set apart to be given to our Indians as their part of the prey, and, if there be any overplus thereof, it shall be given to

those who shall remain in the country to trade therewith, either with our own Indians or those of Canada, who, if they will submit quietly, shall not be suffered to be prisoners to our Indians, but reckoned friends to us, as at present they are to the French. 3d, That every man, of what rank or quality soever, shall be bound to deliver up to the common heap all the spoil he shall get of what nature soever; and that whatsoever they shall find in houses or any other place which they cannot bring away, they shall not spoil it, but leave it undamaged for the benefit of those who shall afterwards come to settle there; and that whosoever shall offend in either of these particulars shall, by so doing, forfeit his part of the spoil, and be otherwise punished as the commander-in-chief shall think fit.

7.—All the arms and warlike stores taken from the French to be carefully gathered together, and laid up in the fort of Quebeck, and other convenient places, and there kept in good order and condition, so as to be at all times ready for use. All places of strength and great advantage, and disabled in the taking, or any ways in need to be better fortified, shall be duly taken care of and fortified in the best manner that may be, and furnished with great guns and stores convenient for the defence thereof; for which purpose the guns and mortar-pieces carried over, together with any taken by the way, or in harbour there, or on land, with

sufficient quantities of powder, ball, etc., shall be left there, to be disposed of in each garrison as shall seem necessary.

For the resettlement of this province the governor may—

1.—Appoint a house and land and other conveniences for the bishop, and houses, lands, etc. for the ministers out of those belonging before to and set apart for that use, with schools, a library, etc. as best may be done.

2—Dispose of the lands, houses, instruments of husbandry, etc. on such terms and with such provisions as shall be reasonable and proper for the King's profit, the landlord's advantage, the tenant's encouragement, and the clergy's maintenance; and that, first, to those of the soldiery from England, who, being married, will settle there and send for their wives over; and, second, to those who being unmarried, and of those soldiers or of the forces come from any of the neighboring provinces, and desirous to settle and marry there any of the French maids or widows (such as they can prevail with), to every man according to his quality, place, and merit, and as shall seem best to the governor.

3.—Send to England, desiring encouragement may be given to the French Protestants to come over and settle there with their families, which it is believed many of them will willingly do, if they

be assured to have lands, houses, etc., given to them on reasonable terms, as it is intended they shall. And this is the method which I promised to lay down as proper for the subduing and resettlement of Canada; which, if it be not so complete as it ought to be, or not likely to be so effectual as I hoped it might, in the judgment of understanding persons, if yet it will serve but as the first lines of a draught, or a motive only to enable heads to do better, I shall not only be contented, but very glad, and not think that I have lost my labour.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

MR. MILLER'S INFORMATION

Furnished to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Sept. 4, 1696.

"That there are about 3000 Families in New York and about 5000 Families in Connecticut

That he was at Albany when the French came down that way in the year 1693. It was into the Mohacs Country, beyond Schenectidy. There were of them about 2 or 300, and as many of their Indians. The Force sent against them was from Albany much about the same number (English and Indians) under Major Schuyler, who speaks

the Indian Language. Other forces sent from New York came too late. Major Schuyler's Order from Colonell Ingoldsby who commanded in Albany was that when he found he was near the Enemy he should fortify himself; He did so; And in the mean time while sent out detachments who in several attacks killed about 30 or 40 of the French party, whereupon the rest fled and have not since returned. This was the only incursion of any moment that was ever made upon that Country before his coming away in June 1695.

That the town of Albany is fortifyed only with stockado. There is but one Minister of the Church of England and one Schoolmaster in the whole Colony of New York. A Dutch minister there had instructed some Indian children. But the English in New York had not endeavoured it. There are many interpreters.

That the Trade of Albany is chiefly Beaver. Formerly it may have been to the value of £10,000 a year but is now decay'd, by reason of Warr between our Indians and the French, not diverted to any other place. The burdens also of that Province have made 2 or 300 families forsake it, and remove to Pensilvania and Maryland cheifly and some to New England.

That the presents usually given to the Five Nations are not distributed to particular Men amongst them: But in general to the whole. It is done in

the Governor's name as by order from the King. Their returns are in Beaver and Otterskins to the value of 20 or 40 £. Those presents of theirs are made to the Governor: He is doubtfull if not sometimes mentioned for the King.—*New York Col. Documents*, IV, 182.

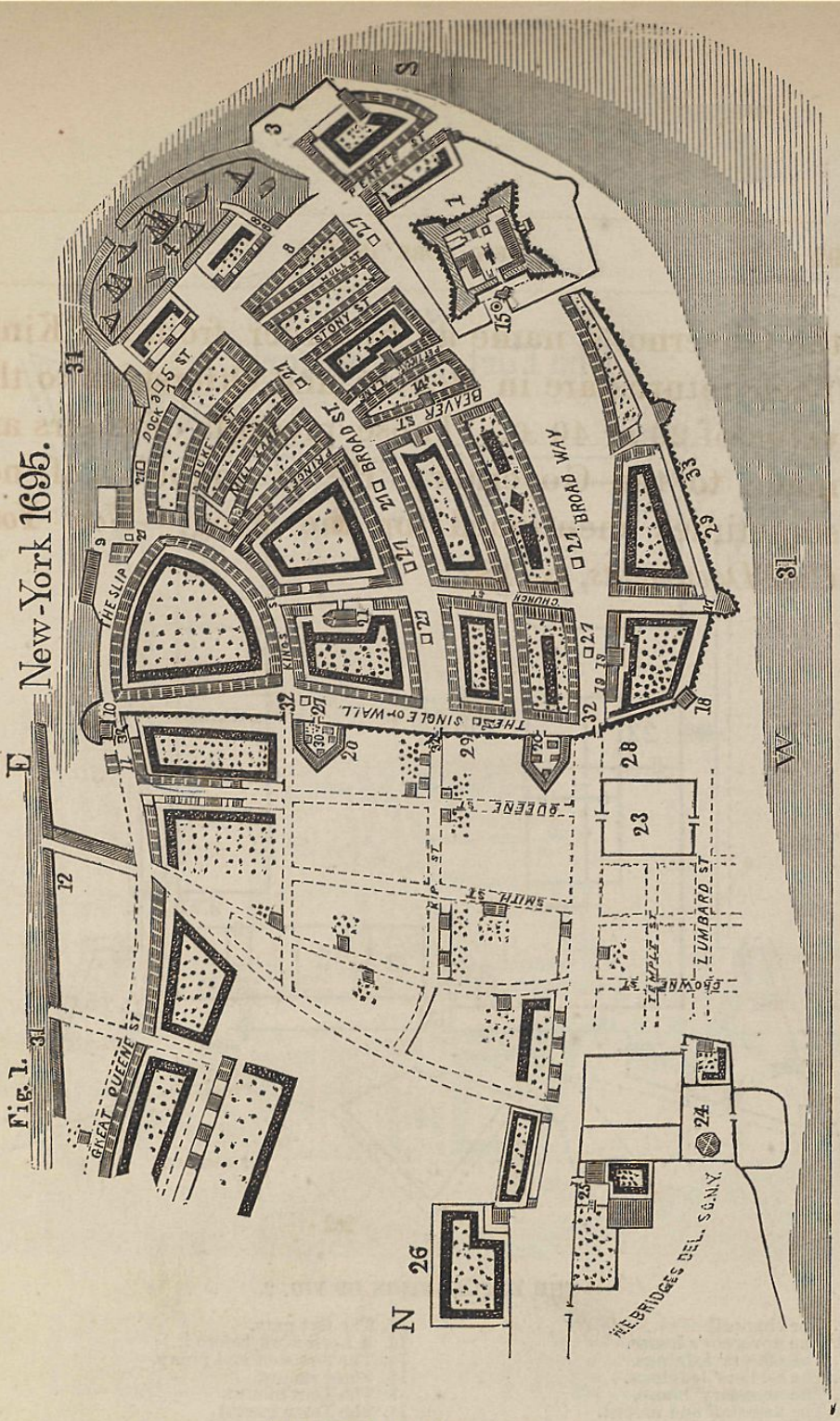
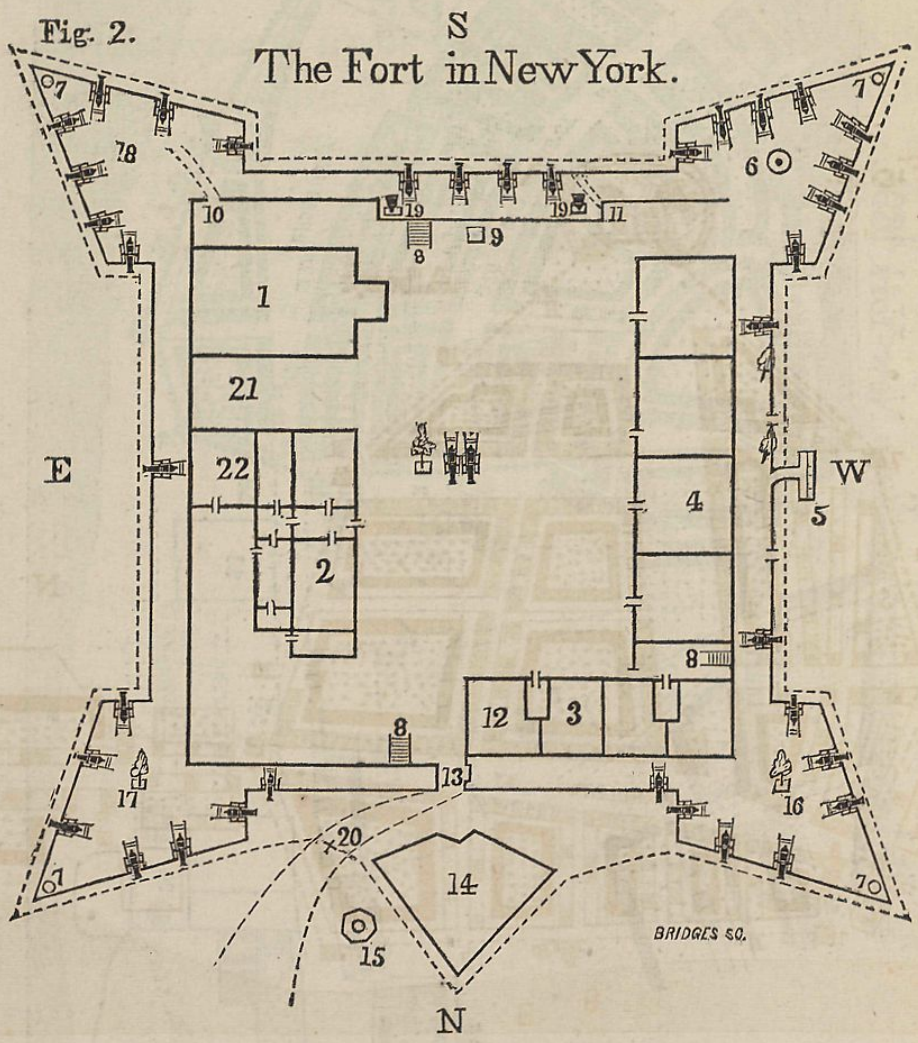


Fig. 1.

THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 1.

1. The chappel in the fort of New York.
2. Leysler's half moon.
3. Whitehall battery of 15 guns.
4. The old dock.
5. The cage and stocks.
6. Stadthouse battery of 5 guns.
7. The stadt (or state) house.
8. The custom house.
8. 8. The bridge.
9. Burghers. or the slip battery of 10 guns.
10. The fly blockhouse and half moon.
11. The slaughter-houses.
12. The new docks.
13. The French Church.
14. The Jews synagogue.
15. The fort well and pump.
16. Ellet's Alley.
17. The works on the west side of the city.
18. The north-west blockhouse.
19. 19, The Lutheran church and minister's house.
20. 20. The stone points on the north side of the city.
21. The Dutch Calvinist church, built 1692.
22. The Dutch Calvinist minister's house.
23. The burying ground.
24. A windmill.
25. The king's farm.
26. Coll. Dungan's garden.
27. 27. Wells.
28. The plat of ground designed for the E. minister's house.
29. 29. The stockado, with a bank of earth on the inside.
30. The ground proper for the building an E. church.
31. 31. Shewing the sea flowing about N. York.
32. 32. The city gates.
33. A postern gate.

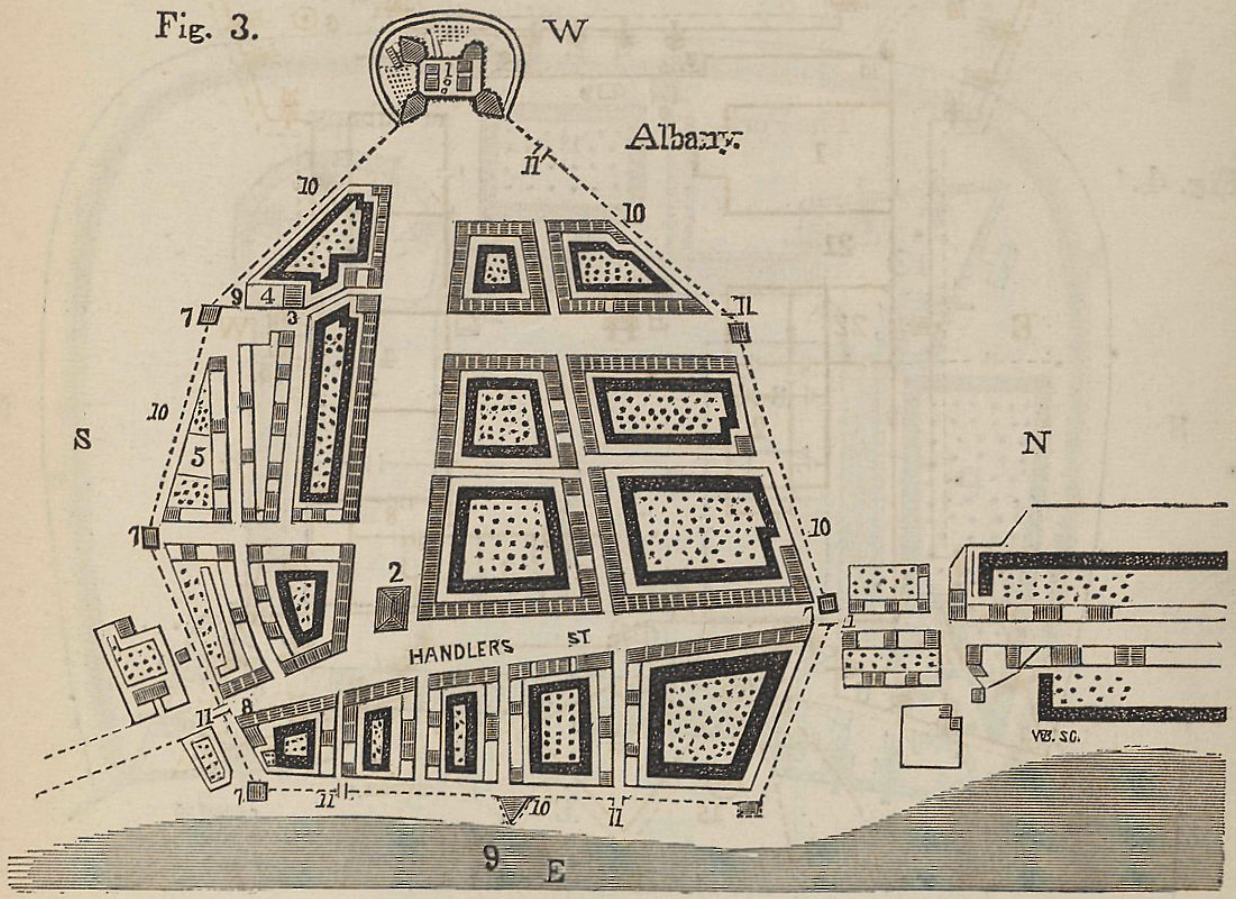
Fig. 2.



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 2.

1. The chappell.
2. The governor's house.
3. The officers' lodgings.
4. The soldiers' lodgings.
5. The necessary house.
6. The flag-staff and mount.
7. 7. The centry boxes.
8. 8. Ladders to mount the walls.
9. The well in the fort.
10. The magazine.
11. The sallyport.
12. The secretary's office.
13. The fort gate.
14. A horn-work before it.
15. The fort well and pump.
16. Stone mount.
17. The Iron mount.
18. The Town mount.
19. 19. Two mortar pieces.
20. A turn-stile.
21. Ground for additional building to the governor's house
22. The armory over the governor's kitchen.

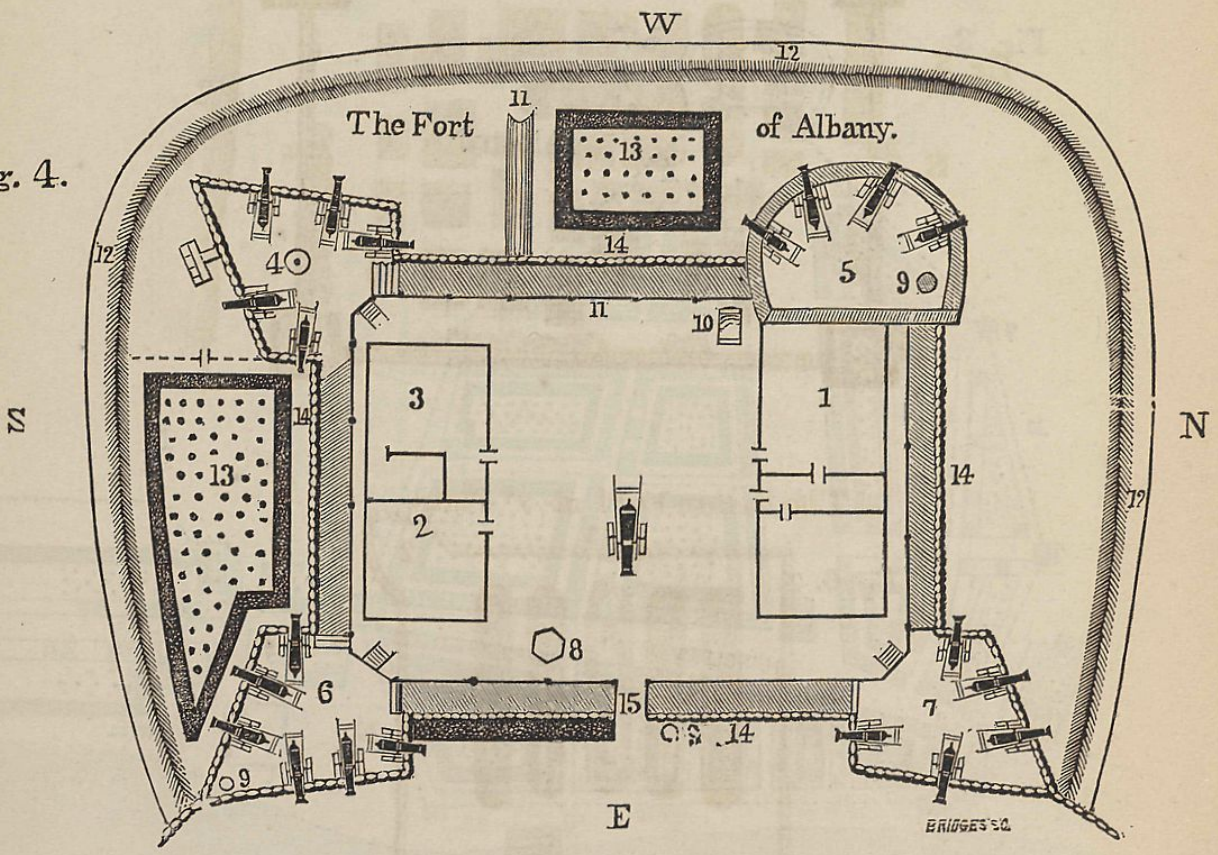
Fig. 3.



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 3.

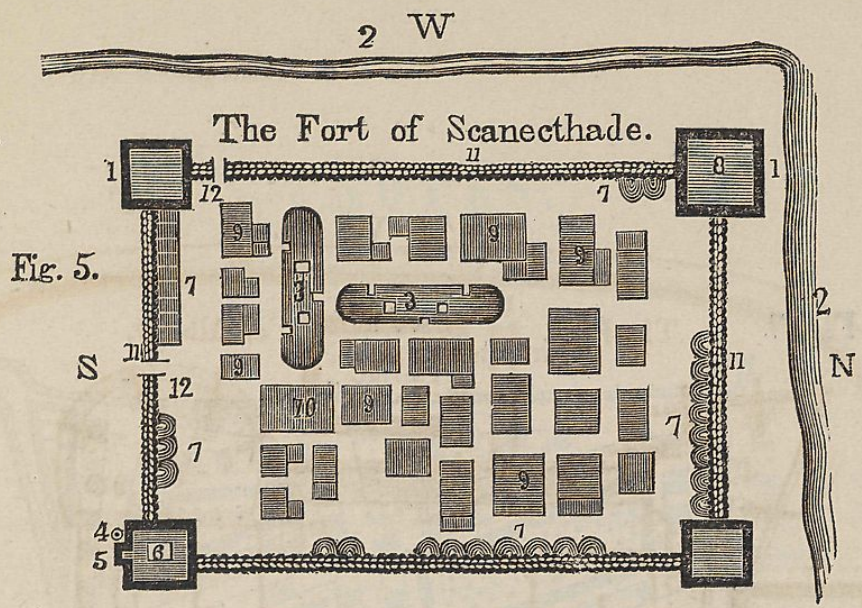
1. The fort of Albany.
2. The Dutch Calvinist church.
3. The Dutch Lutheran church.
4. The burying place.
5. The Dutch Calvinist burying place.
7. 7. The block houses.
8. The stadt-house.
9. A great gun to clear a gulley.
10. 10. The stockado.
11. 11. The gates of the city, six in all.

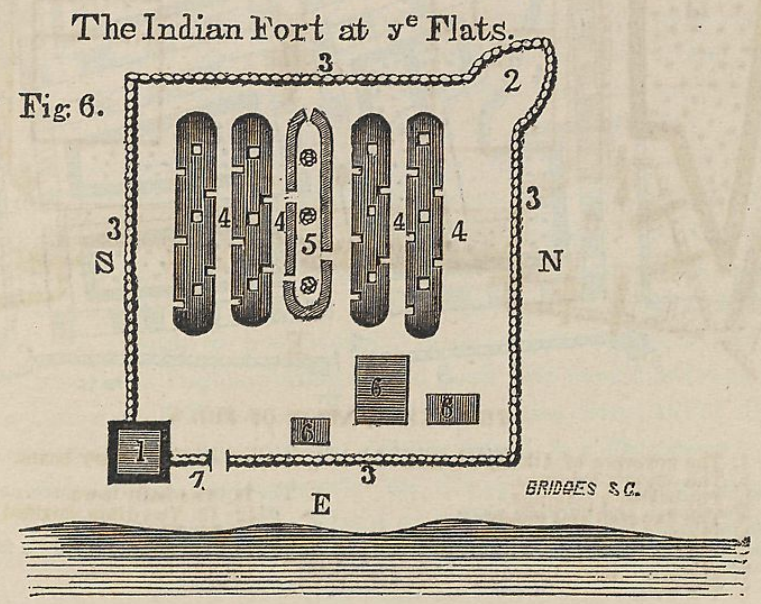
Fig. 4.



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 4.

1. The governor of Albany's house.
2. The officer's lodgings.
3. The soldier's lodgings.
4. The flag-staff and mount.
5. The magazine.
6. The Dial mount.
7. The Town mount.
8. The well.
9. 9. The centry boxes.
11. The Sally port.
12. 12. The ditch fortified with stakes
13. 13. The gardens.
14. The stockado.
15. The fort gate.





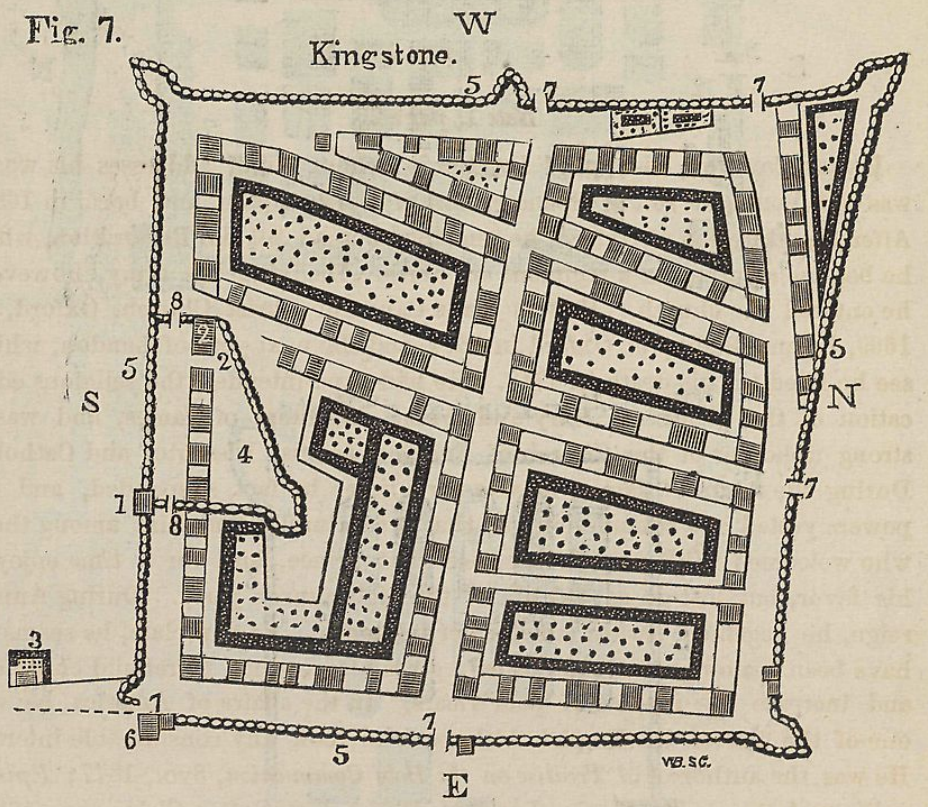
THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 5.

1. 1. The blockhouses.
2. 2. Rivers running beside the fort.
3. 3. Indian wigwams.
4. The flag-staff.
5. A centry box.
6. The spy-loft.
7. 7 The sties for hogs.
8. The blockhouse, designed for a church.
9. 9. Those and others like them are houses.
10. A great barn.
11. 11. The treble stockado.
12. 12. The fort gates.

THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 6.

1. The blockhouse.
2. The mount.
3. 3. The stockado.
4. The Indian houses or wigwams covered.
5. A wigwam open.
6. Houses for the soldier's use.
7. The fort gate.

Fig. 7.



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 7.

1. The blockhouse.
2. 2. The church and burying place.
3. The minister's house.
4. The part separated and fortified.
5. The Stockado.
6. The house where the governor is entertained.
7. 7. The town gates.
8. 8. The gates to the separate fortified part.

NOTES.

Note 1, *page* 26.

HENRY COMPTON, Bishop of London, to whom Miller addresses his work, was the youngest son of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, and born in 1632. After his education at Oxford, he remained abroad till the Restoration, when he became a cornet in a regiment of horse. Disliking the army, however, he entered the church. He was made Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1669, became Bishop of Oxford in 1674, and the next year of London, which see he filled till his death in 1713. He had superintended the religious education of the princesses Mary and Anne, daughters of James, and was a strong upholder of the Church of England, against Dissenter and Catholic. During the reign of James, he was for a time, in fact, suspended, and his powers vested in a commission, so that we naturally find him among those who welcomed William. He crowned that prince, and for a time enjoyed his favor, but lost it, as did all of the high church party. During Anne's reign, he regained part of his former influence. As a prelate, he seems to have been zealous and disinterested, giving large sums to rebuild churches, and increase the income of poor vicars. In the affairs of America, he was one of the first of the English bishops who took any considerable interest. He was the author of *A Treatise on the Holy Communion*, 8vo., 1677; *Episcopalia, or Letters to his Clergy*, London, 1686; *Letters to a Clergyman*, 1688; *A Charge*, 1696; *Ninth Conference with his Clergy*, 1701; *Letter concerning Allegiance*, 1710; besides being translator of one or two minor works, but he attained no eminence as a man of letters. By the Charter of Gov. Fletcher, he was made the first Rector of Trinity Church, New York.

Note 2, *page* 28.

The name of Long Island was changed to Nassau Island in 1692.—*Laws of the Colony of New York* (ed. 1719), page 17. But the name never obtained, and it still retains its original and appropriate title. On De Laet's map appears the name Matouwacs. Early French maps call it the Isle of the Holy Apostles and Ascension Island. An English colony on a grand scale was projected here by Ployden, and a very curious

tract written at the time, exalting the advantages of the island, has been recently printed, entitled: *The Commodities of the iland, called Manati ore Long Ile which is in the continent of Virginia.* Staten Island means Island of the States, and was so called in honor of the States General of Holland.

Note 3, *page* 28.

The Counties received their names under James, and nearly all refer to him and the Stuart family. Kings and Queens were named after Charles II, and his Queen Mary; Duke's County, now in Massachusetts, and Dutchess were named after James and his wife; New York, Albany and Ulster, represent his titles on the English, Scotch and Irish peerages, and Orange was named in compliment to the Prince of Orange, who deprived him of his crown.

Note 4, *page* 28.

The length in a straight line is only 13 miles from the Battery to Kingsbridge.

Note 5, *page* 29.

The Stadthouse or Town Hall, was originally at the head of Coenties Slip, and was erected in 1642, by Kieft as a tavern, but in 1652, on the organizing of the city government, became the Stadt Huys. This house was the scene of some important events. Here, in 1664, the articles of capitulation were signed, which became the law of the colony, here too, the surrender of the colony to the Dutch again was made. It was made the first school house in 1652, and the first Court of Admiralty was held here in 1668. In 1696, a plan was adopted for a new city hall, at the head of Broad street, where the custom house now stands. This was completed in 1700, at a cost of near £4000, and the old Stadt Huys was sold for £920. This new city hall was that in which Washington was inaugurated president.

The fortifications at the Stadt Huys in 1688, were "a half moon most ruined and washed away by the sea," with three demi culverins.

Note 6, *page* 29.

The Burgers Path was the present Old Slip. This too, in 1688, was stated to be "most ruined and beaten down by the water." Its armament was four *seekers* and one *minion*. The reader who wishes to compare the state of the fortifications further will find a full description of their condition in 1688, in *Valentine's Manual* for 1855, p. 551-3.

Note 7, *page* 29.

Scanectade (Schenectady), is the Mohawk. The name means beyond the openings. It was given by the tribe to Albany, and retained on the division by the present town.

Note 8, *page* 29.

NESTIGAYUNA. According to Dr. O'Callaghan (*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, IV, 184), "Canesteguine is laid down on Mitchell's Map of North America, 1755, and on Sauthier's Map of the Province of New York, 1779, on the north bank of the Mohawk river, a little west of the Cohoes Falls, in what is now Saratoga county." Lord Cornbury (*Ib.* IV, 968), says that it was fourteen miles from Albany in the woods.

The Half Moon was fourteen miles above Albany upon the river (*Ib.*). Colonel Römer, the engineer, in 1698 (*Ib.* IV, 440, 682), represented the forts at Albany and Schenectady as wretched, and like Gov. Fletcher and his successors, urged the erection of regular stone forts there, and the restoration of the forts at Kanestigionne and Half Moon, as the barriers of the frontiers.

Note 9, *page* 34.

WINE. The culture of grapes for manufacture into wine, early attracted the attention of Europeans, especially of the Spaniards and French, who were practically familiar with the proper mode of cultivation and the process of wine making. Full half a century before a plan was formed for colonizing Long Island chiefly to raise wine. Even in Canada, the missionaries inaugurated it by making wine of wild grapes for altar purposes, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, and a good table wine was, it is said, made at Montreal not long after; but the French government, with the jealousy usual at the time, prohibited the planting of vineyards and the enterprise was accordingly abandoned. Some French colonists in Rhode Island, also manufactured wine about this time.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IV, 787. Massachusetts sought to establish vineyards at an early day, and Governor's Island was granted to Winthrop in 1632, on condition of his planting a vineyard there.—*Young's Pilgrims*, 152.

In more recent times vine growing has been carried on with great success. The failure of imported vines induced the attempt to improve the native grape, and these have succeeded beyond all expectation. The Catawba grape and wine have acquired more popularity, and have given wealth and name to Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati. In New York, the largest vineyards *are those of Dr. Underhill at Croton Point.*

In 1769, the government of Virginia embarked in vine growing, under the direction of Andrew Estave, but the experiment failed, and the lands and negroes were sold in 1776.—*Hist. Mag.*, IV, 219.

Note 10, *page* 34.

From the enumeration of roots it would seem that the potato was not yet cultivated to any extent, and it probably was not for thirty or forty years after. Potatoes are mentioned as being purchased for the dinner on the inauguration of President Leverett at Harvard College in 1707.—*Hist. Mag.*, V, 184.

Note 11, *page* 34.

The Dutch name for Shad was *Elft*, which also meant *Eleven*. Misled by this, or in jest, the early settlers called the Streaked Bass, Twaalf (*i. e.* Twelve), and the Drum, Dertien (*i. e.* Thirteen).—*Benson*. This gave rise to the statement here made by Miller.

Note 12, *page* 35.

MANUFACTURES. New York early attempted manufactures, and at this time, traded largely in staves, cloth stuffs and hats; but this spirit of enterprise did not harmonize with English views. Lord Cornbury well expressed those views in these words: "All these Colloneys which are but twigs belonging to the Main Tree (England), ought to be kept entirely dependent upon and subservient to England, and that can never be, if they are suffered to goe on in the notions they have, that as they are Englishmen, soe they may set up the same manufactures here as people may do in England, for the consequence will be that if once they can see they can cloathe themselves, not only comfortably but handsomely too, without the help of England, they who are already not very fond of submitting to Government would soon think of putting in Execution designs they had long harbourd in their breasts."—*Cornbury to Sec. Hodges*. Cosby, at a latter date, wrote to the Board of Trade in regard to the prejudicial increase of hat making (*Letter of Dec.* 18, 1732), and Smith (vol. II, p. 278) notes that "hats were exported to the West Indies with great success, till lately prohibited by an act of Parliament."

Note 13, *page* 37.

REV. HENRY SELYNS was ordained at Amsterdam, Feb. 16, 1660, for the Church at Breuckelen (Brooklyn). He officiated there and at the Governor's Bowery from September, 1660, to 1664, when he returned to Holland. De-

clining an invitation in 1672, he returned to this country in 1682, on the death of Mr. Drisius, and was pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New York, until his death in 1701, being the eighth in succession from Dom. Michaelius. He was a man of learning and a poet, and his reputation was not confined to the Dutch nation and its colonies. He seems too, to have been laborious in the ministry. In the Leisler troubles, he, like most worthy men, incurred the hostility of the self-created governor.—*O'Callaghan's Col. Doc.*, III, 646. As a poet, he is in point of time, next to Steendam, and Mr. Murphy states that a MS. volume of his poems exists.

Note 14, *page* 37.

Rev. P. Peiret signed the address against Leisler in 1690 (*Col. Doc.*, III, 748-9), and died in 1705.—*Doc. Hist. of New York*, II, 247; III, 250.

Note 15, *page* 37.

As to Saul Brown, Dr. Fischel kindly informs me that he was simply a merchant, who officiated for a short time as reader in the Synagogue. He came to this city from Newport, R. I., where he had a brother David, whose name appears in the petition to the Assembly of Rhode Island, in behalf of the Jews of Newport, June 24, 1684.—*Bartlett's Colonial Records of R. I.*, III, 160.

Note 16, *page* 37.

Rev. David de Bonrepos was a French Protestant minister, who accompanied the first Huguenot emigrants from France. He was the first minister at New Rochelle, but the industrious historian of Westchester county can give us no details as to his labors, and we know the fact merely from a letter addressed by him to Leisler.—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, II, 304. In 1695, he was, as here stated by Miller, on Staten Island, but the next year describes himself in a deed as of New York.—*Bolton's Hist. of the Church in Westchester Co.*, 396.

Note 17, *page* 37.

It is an extremely curious fact, that the Mr. Vesey, dissenter, "without orders," here referred to by Mr. Miller, should almost immediately become the first resident Rector of Trinity Church, a benefice to which Mr. Miller himself had laid claim. The Rev. Wm. Vesey was a native of Massachusetts, and if we can believe Lord Bellomont, the son of a Jacobite, who had been pilloried at Boston for his adherence to the cause of the unfortunate James II. William was graduated at Harvard in 1691, and seems almost immediately to have gone to Long Island, where he was at the time Mr. Miller wrote.—

Doc. Hist. III, 265. When a body of church wardens and vestrymen was created for New York, they asked in 1695, the opinion of the Assembly as to their right to call a dissenting minister, and being sustained by that body called Mr. Vesey. Trinity Church was erected about the same time, and as Mr. Vesey was popular, Gov. Fletcher seems to have induced him to conform to the Church of England, and become Rector of Trinity. He accordingly proceeded to Boston, and was received into the Church of England, and armed with necessary documents, sailed for England, where he was ordained. He officiated for the first time as Rector of Trinity, on the 6th of February, 1697, and continued to discharge the duties of his post for nearly half a century, dying on the 11th of July, 1746.

Note 18, *page* 37.

Mr. Mot was probably the Rev. John Morse, minister of Newtown. Alarmed by the act of 1693, which they regarded as an attempt to enforce the establishment of the Church of England, and provoked at it, as imposing an unjust burthen on them, the people of Newtown, resolved that "the town will call a minister to preach the gospel amongst us upon liking." They according invited Mr. John Morse, born at Dedham, Mass., March 31, 1674, and graduated at Harvard in 1692. He officiated at Newtown, from Sept. 15, 1694, till his death in October, 1700. His ordination seems to have taken place in 1697.—*Riker's Annals of Newtown*, 126-131.

Note 19, *page* 37.

"The young man coming to settle in Westchester without orders," was Warham Mather.—*Bolton's Westchester.*

Note 20, *page* 37.

The Rev. Godefridus Dellius, was Dutch minister at Albany, from 1682 to 1699, and during much of the time, a conspicious character in the affairs of the colony. He came over in accordance with an agreement made by contract at Amsterdam, July 20, 1682, by which he was to officiate as assistant minister at Albany, for four years from his leaving Texel at 800 guilders per annum in beaver or 600 bushels of wheat.—*Munsell's Annals of Albany*, I, 105; VI, 80. He missed the vessel on which he was to sail from England, and had to return to Holland, but finally arrived in August, 1683, when a subscription was made to meet his salary.—*Ibid*, I, 105.

He did not seem to have formed much attachment to the New World, as in 1685, he accepted a call to Heuclem, and was about to return to Holland; but he evidently married and settled down, laboring not only among the

Dutch, but also among the Mohawks, of whom he was the first Protestant missionary, and over whom he acquired great influence.

Leisler found in Dominie Dellius, one not disposed to recognize his authority. A letter of Father Lamberville to the Dutch clergyman, thanking him for an act of kindness to Milet a missionary held captive at Oneida, was in Leisler's eyes, sufficient ground for putting Dellius in prison, in 1690.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 732. On getting free he retired to New Jersey, Long Island and finally to Boston. Sloughter recalled him in 1691.—*Ibid*, 772. Under Fletcher, he enjoyed great influence, and was employed to treat with the Indians. He availed himself of the occasion to obtain a grant of an immense tract of land, afterwards set aside as extravagant and illegal. The Earl of Bellomont at first regarded him with favor, and sent him with Schuyler to Canada in 1698, but soon after complained of him in the most violent terms, and brought such accusations against him that he was deprived of his church and ministerial function by act of the legislature in 1699.—*Col. Doc.*, IV, 510.

On this he proceeded to England, and subsequently, it is said, to Holland.—*Annals of Albany*, I, 88.

His register shows many Indians baptized and received as church members, from 1689 to 1699 (*Ib.* I, 96-101, II, 163-174, III, 61-82), the first being an Indian, aged 40 years, of the Ockkweese, Arnout Viele being sponsor. It was proposed to send Dellius out in 1705, as a missionary of the Propagation of the Gospel, but Col. Heathcote opposed it.—*Doc. Hist.* III, 124.

He was alive in 1714, and applied to the Assembly for some arrears due him, part of which he obtained.—*Annals of Albany*, X, 223.

Dr. Dellius seems to have been a worthy clergyman, enjoying the esteem of his own flock, of the Catholic clergy of Canada, of the Episcopal clergyman at New York, of the New England divines, as well as of the Bishop of London and his own Church; and we must conclude Bellomont to have been prejudiced. The extent of Dellius' knowledge of the Mohawk, and his labors seems to have been, however, limited.

Note 21, *page* 40.

As Miller wrote while Fletcher was still in power, he makes no allusion to the piracies by which New York merchants of that day profited, yet the cases of Coats and Tew could not have been unknown to him, nor the part taken by the merchants in Hoare's cruises. As it was a time of war, Fletcher issued commissions to enable them to act as privateers against the French, but the real object was well known, and Fletcher's conduct led to his recall and to the appointment of Lord Bellomont with strict orders to stop all piracy. His attempt to do so by means of Capt. Kidd, and the piratical course of that commander are well known; but the end was effected, Kidd was the last of the New York pirates, and our merchants turned to less lucrative, but less

criminal investments. An account of the whole subject will be found in Valentine's *Manual* for 1857, p. 455-479.

A communication evincing much research touching the history and fall of Capt. Kidd, was drawn up by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy and published in the *Democratic Review*, between 1840 and 1850.

Gabriel Furman, Esq., the editor of the new edition of Daniel Denton's *Description of New Netherlands*, 1670, was an enthusiastic believer in the authenticity of a report which obtained great currency about 1840, that nearly all the ill-gotten treasures of Capt. Kidd, which were supposed to be very large, lay at the bottom of the Hudson river, near Caldwells, a little below Peekskill on the opposite shore.

He had amassed a large amount of material obtained from every accessible source, respecting the life and exploits of this famous outlaw, which he had intended to be given to the public in due time, but alas, alas, that grim and inexorable messenger, death, put an untimely stop to his useful career, as has been the case with thousands upon thousands of others, and will continue to be so as long as frail man inhabits this wandering globe.

Note 22, *page* 43.

Mr. Miller is here greatly in error. The States General of Holland in 1590, directed marriage to be performed by a magistrate, and the law was in force in New Netherland till the conquest. By the Duke's *Laws*, published March 1, 1664, title *Marriages*, it was made lawful "for any Justice of Peace to joyne Parties in Marriage." See the title in *N. Y. Hist. Society's Collections*, *Series* 1, I, 362. This has never been altered and is to this day the law of the state of New York. The rule of the Catholic Church which prevailed prior to the Reformation, does not require the intervention of a clergyman to perfect the marriage, the parties themselves forming the contract, and the officer, civil or ecclesiastical, being merely the witness thereto, and this is the law in New York.

That bigamy prevailed we may infer from the fact that one of Mr. Miller's immediate successors, the Rev. Symon Smith, was presented by the grand jury in 1699, for marrying Elizabeth Buckmaster, wife of Edward Buckmaster, to Adam Baldridge.—*Hist. Mag.*, VIII, 189.

Note 23, *page* 46.

The only Episcopal clergymen up to this time in the colony, if we except the Rev. Nicholas Van Rensselaer (ordained by John Earle, Bishop of Salisbury, 1663–5), were the chaplains to his Majesty's forces. These were:

1678–80, Rev. Charles Wolley, A. M. 1683, Rev. Dr. Gordon. 1684-6, Rev. Josias Clarke. 1686-9, Rev. Alexander Innes. 1693-5, Rev. John Mil-

ler. 1699-1700, Rev. Symon Smith. Rev. —— Brisac. 1704, Rev. Edmund Hott. 1704, Rev. John Sharpe.

The establishment of the Church of England, however, dates from the conquest. As the kings of England from the time of Henry VIII., united in their persons the papal and regal powers, the extent of ecclesiastical was conterminous with that of the regal, and where the sovereign was king he was head of the Church, and the Church consequently existed in the eye of the law.

By the articles of capitulation of the Dutch authorities, in 1664, it was agreed that: "The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline;" but the English then in the colony, or those who might thereafter come in, could not claim any such privilege, nor Dutch or English claim exemption from the payment of church rates as established in England.

New York from this time was deemed a part of the diocese of London, or a dependence on the metropolitan see of Canterbury. The Duke of York, however, as a Catholic, felt doubtless no especial zeal in establishing the Anglican Church, and if a chaplain of the Established Church attended his expedition, his name does not seem to have been recorded.

The Duke's *Laws*, promulgated in 1664, directed: 1. The erection of a church in each parish; 2. Eight overseers to be chosen by the householders of the parish, who with the constable were to choose two as church-wardens; 3. Ministers to produce to governor, proof of ordination by some Protestant bishop or minister in some part of his majesty's dominions or the dominions of some foreign prince of the reformed religion. The duties of overseers were, among other things, the making and proportioning the levies and assessments for building and repairing the churches, provision for the poor, and maintenance of the minister. Subsequent laws directed churches to be built in three years, reduced the number of overseers to four, and at last imposed a double rate in towns that had not made a sufficient maintenance for their minister.—*Duke's Laws*, *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1, I, 336, 407, 428.

In 1674, James, by an order of July 1, established a regiment at New York, with a chaplain, who was to receive a salary of £121 6*s.* 8*d.*, "to commence from y^e^ time y^e^ Soldiers come on board and to be paid at New Yorke, and to be estimated after y^e^ rates of Beaver there."—*N. Y. Coll. Doc.*, III, p. 220.

The first of these chaplains, the Rev. Charles Wolley, is the first clergyman of the Church of England of whose labors here we have any record. He was the author of a *Journal of a Residence in New York*, published in London, in 1701, and reprinted by Mr. Gowans of New York, in 1860. In the introduction to this latter edition, Dr. O'Callaghan has given the result of his labors to trace the history of the pioneer of the Episcopal Church in the city of New York.

The place of ministration was the chapel in Fort James, and even this was for many years shared with the Dutch clergyman and his congregation; but from 1674 a regular series of Episcopal chaplains succeeded, as to whom, however, we have few details.

In 1677, the Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction extended to all the colonies, complained of the neglect to establish a ministry in the various colonies (*Ib.*, page 253), and the next year Andros wrote: "The Duke maintains a chapline which is all the certaine allowance or Church of England, but people's free gift to y^e^ ministers."—*Ib.*, page 262.

This condition lasted till James' accession to the throne, the Legislature convened in 1683, which established freedom of worship, making no change in the state of affairs. In 1686, Dongan wrote: "The Great Church which serves both the English & the Dutch, is within the Fort, which is found to bee very inconvenient therefore I desire that there may be an order for their building another, ground already being layd out for that purpose, & they wanting not money in Store wherewithall to build it."—*Ib.*, page 415.

King James found the machinery of the government in the hands of a party who controlled him and his successors, and the plan of actually establishing the Church took a decided form. The instructions sent out to Dongan in 1686 differ essentially from those which emanated from James, as Duke. This Catholic governor, under a Catholic king, of a province where the mass of the people were Dutch Calvinists, was required to see that the Book of Common Prayer was read every Sunday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England. No minister was to be preferred to any benefice without a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose power in matters ecclesiastical was to extend to all but the collating to benefices, marriage licenses, and probate of wills, which important points were reserved to the governor.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 688.

During the two ensuing years we find nothing done, however, to carry out this part, the governor being doubtless not over zealous in the matter.

Some most strangely have assumed Leisler's conduct to have been a struggle in behalf of the Dutch Church against the Established Church; but, unfortunately, the documents all militate against this convenient theory. All parties were so unanimous in their denunciations of James and Catholicity, that no domestic clashings of Protestants appear. Nicholson, who alone represented the Church of England, retired. The council who claimed to hold the reins of government, were mostly of the Dutch Church.—*Ib.*, p. 588. And on the other hand see *Leisler's Letters to the English Bishops*. Leisler, though a deacon in the Dutch Church, was no friend of the Dutch or French clergymen in the city.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 646, n.; 651, n. Of an Episcopalian party at the time no trace appears in any document, and the only Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. Alexander Innes, who had been chaplain in the fort from 1686, took his departure soon after the commencement of the

troubles, bearing, as Leisler states, testimonials from the French and Dutch clergymen. The Episcopalians must have been few ("Here bee not many of the Church of England" (*Ib.*, 616), said Dongan), or they would have organized as a Church, like the Dutch and French Calvinists and the Lutherans.

Leisler's acts were not recognized in England, where Nicholson had been regarded as lieutenant-governor, and Sloughter subsequently appointed. The latter was sent by the Dutch Stadtholder, as king of England, to rule over former subjects of Holland; but the power that controlled the Catholic James, controlled the Reformed Dutch William, and the latter, like the former, gave his governor of New York instructions to establish the Church of England. The instructions to Sloughter are a copy of those to Dongan, with the additional injunction as to the maintenance for each orthodox minister.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 688.

Sloughter on his arrival made this an early object of his care. On the 18th of April, 1691, the Assembly, on the recommendation of the governor to introduce a "Bill for settling the Ministry and allotting a maintenance for them in each respective City and Town within this Province, that consists of Forty Families and upwards," sent to the attorney-general to draw such a bill. The act as framed, was read on the 1st of May, but, "not answering the intention of the house, was rejected, and ordered that another be brought in."—*Journals of the Assembly.* The explanation of this is, doubtless, that the attorney-general drew such an one as would lead to the establishment of the Church of England, in conformity with Sloughter's instructions. The death of the governor left the matter in this state, yet the subject was not entirely dropped. On August 23, 1692, it was ordered that a bill may be drawn for the better observance of the Lord's day, and that each respective town within this province have a minister or reader to read Divine service. But Col. Benjamin Fletcher, the new governor, was a man zealously attached to the Church of England. On his arrival and at the first meeting of the Assembly he urged the settlement of a ministry. The house took it up reluctantly. On the first of April, 1693, it was "Ordered that the Committee formerly appointed for the settling of the Ministry and Schoolmasters do forthwith proceed upon that business."—*Journal*, 30. But the session came to a close without any action in the matter, which drew out a sharp rebuke from the governor.—*Smith's New York*, I, 130. When the new Assembly met in September, he again recommended the matter in such urgent terms, that a committee was appointed on the 12th, and three days after, their report was read and approved, and "It was ordered that a bill be brought in for the establishment of it (a ministry) accordingly." The speaker on the 19th, brought in a "Bill for settling the Ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the City and County of New York, County of Richmond and Westchester, and Queen's

County." It passed two readings, and was referred back. On the 21st it came up again amended, and passed the house, who transmitted it to the governor. The next day Fletcher and his council returned it with an amendment, requiring the minister, when called by the wardens and vestry, to be presented to the governor for approval and collation, but the house replied, "that they could not agree thereunto, and pray that it may pass without that amendment, having in drawing of the bill due regard to the pious intent of settling a ministry for the benefit of the people."

The governor replied to the house warmly, declaring that he had by letters-patent right to collate or suspend any minister in the colony (*Ib.*), but nevertheless gave his assent to the bill.

The act of Sept. 22, 1693, obtained by so much endeavor, did not on its face establish the Church of England. It provided that a good sufficient Protestant minister to officiate and have care of souls should be called, inducted, and established within a year in the city and county of New York, one in Richmond, two in Westchester, and as many in Queens; 2, that New York and Westchester should each raise £100 for the maintenance of their respective ministers; 3, that ten vestrymen and two church-wardens should be annually chosen by all the freeholders; 4, that wardens pay the maintenance to the minister in four quarterly payments.—*Laws of the Colony of New York.*

We have seen that under it Fletcher claimed the right of inducting: the Rev. Mr. Miller, the writer of this tract, took a broad view of it. Considering apparently that the act established a benefice or living, and that the governor by his commission had the right of presentation, he, in February, 1694, demanded to be inducted into the parish of Trinity, but his claim was not acknowledged.—*O'Callaghan, Col. Doc.*, IV, 182, n.

The vestrymen and church-wardens were actually chosen, and seem even to have acted. In 1695, five of them, a minority, applied to the Legislature to know whether they could call a dissenting clergyman, and the Assembly gave it, as their opinion, that they could.—*Journal*, 53. April 12, 1695.

Meanwhile the Episcopalians in the city of New York began, under the encouragement of Fletcher, to take steps to organize, and build a church, and having secured the ground commenced the erection of Trinity. On the 6th of May, 1697, Caleb Heathcote and others, "present managers of the affairs of the Church of England in the Citty of New York," petitioned Fletcher for a charter. This petition recites the act of 1693, that there was then no Church, that petitioners had built one, asks to be incorporated, and that the maintenance given under the act be assigned to the pastor, and a grant of lands near the church be given.—*Doc. Hist.*, III. The governor on the same day issued a charter in the name of the king, though by what authority does not appear, which recites the act, assumes it to apply solely to the Church of England, incorporates the managers as church-wardens and vestrymen of Trinity

Church, declares it to be the only parish church, and then proceeds: "And our Royal pleasure is, and we by these presents do declare that the said Rector of the said Parish Church is a good sufficient Protestant minister, according to the true intent and meaning of the said Act of Assembly, made in the aforesaid fifth year of our Reigne, entitled an Act, &c.; and such we do further of our like speciall grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, give, grant, Ratify, endow, appropriate, and confirm unto the said Rector and his successors forever the aforesaid yearly maintenance of £100."

The rector named in this charter was the Bishop of London, whose income was thus increased by a tax levied on all the inhabitants of the city of New York, and this by a mere act of the governor against the intention and will of the Legislature. It would be curious to study the details of this transaction, and ascertain how Fletcher was able to carry it through, as he apparently did, without eliciting a protest from the members of the Reformed Dutch Church; but the submission was to all appearance absolute, and though some of Fletcher's extravagant grants were set aside, including a lease to Trinity Church, in August, 1697, no allusion is made to the charter of Trinity, and by the consent of the governed, the church-wardens and vestrymen to be elected by all the freeholders of the city, under the act of 1693, found most of their powers vested in the church-wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church elected by the Episcopalians only.

Dr. Berrian in his *History of Trinity Church* (page 13), is singularly inaccurate as to this charter. He says: "In the fifth year of the reign of William and Mary, 1697, by an act of Assembly, approved and ratified by and with the consent and authority of the Governor, a royal grant and confirmation were made of a certain church and steeple, &c." But there is no such act in the Colony Laws, and 1697 was not 5 William and Mary, and Fletcher's Royal Charter, is the only known charter of Trinity.

Note 24, *page* 51.

It would not be easy to give a more guarded and temperate account of the Leisler rebellion, than that here given by Mr. Miller. Leisler's conduct became a party question, and the popular party made him their great martyr. Yet it is very evident that he was neither the champion of the rights of the people as against the aristocratic element in the colony, the champion of the colony as against the mother country, nor the defender of the Dutch church and its liberties, against the encroachments of the Church of England. All these grounds have been taken at different times, but the documents of the period show no tokens of such struggles as to call for any championship of the kind. Leisler seems to have been a vain, ignorant, ambitious man, deluded perhaps in the outset, by a belief in the plots his fancy conjured

up, but once in a little power, resolved to push it to its utmost. Mortified at the treatment of the government in England which totally ignored him, he in a fit of disappointed ambition, resolved to resist the Governor actually sent out. He fired on the troops from England, and shedding blood, deserved his fate. Yet his execution was a political blunder; it became the stock of a party which for years, by its triumphs and defeats, retarded the prosperity of the colony. His Life by the talented Charles F. Hoffman, in Sparks' *American Biography*, is almost a romance, and we must await the day when O'Callaghan or Brodhead shall write the history of New York in that day, as now revealed, to have the real history of Jacob Leisler. For our own part, we add merely these few data:

Jacob Leisler was a German, who came out as a soldier in the West India Company's pay, in 1660. After the English conquest, he became a merchant, and acquired wealth. In a voyage to Europe, in 1678, he was taken by the Turks, and forced to pay a heavy ransom. In 1683 he was appointed Commissioner of a Court of Admiralty. In 1689, he usurped the government; In 1691, he was taken by Gov. Sloughter, tried, convicted, and May 16, 1691, executed.

The *Documentary History of New York*, II, 1-250, and the *Colonial Documents*, III, 572-796, contain the chief materials on Leisler's reign.

Note 25, *page* 53.

The Rev. Peter Milet was a Jesuit missionary who came to Canada prior to 1667. He went to Onondaga in 1668, on the invitation of and in company with the celebrated Garacontié. He labored here till 1671, when he replaced Bruyas at Oneida, and made this his missionary field till 1684, when on the breaking out of war, he proceeded to the camp of De la Barre. He was chaplain at Fort Frontenac in 1687, when Denonville seized the chiefs, and remained there till June, 1689, when, lured out to attend a dying Indian, he was taken prisoner and with much ill-treatment hurried off to Oneida. Here he was doomed to die, but he was too well known, and too much esteemed. His life was spared, a matron having adopted him. In this condition as a prisoner he remained till October, 1694, a source of great trouble to the colony of New York, the Indians refusing to give him up or send him home. After his return to Canada he remained on the mission till after 1701.

The anecdote of the Indian mentioned here by Miller is found elsewhere, the Indians frequently making the contrast as the Abnakis did in Maine, and the Iroquois in the next century in regard to Oswegatchie.

Note 26, *page* 54.

The French colonies in North America, now represented solely by the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, include on a French map a hundred years old all north of Mexico, except Florida, and a very narrow strip along the Atlantic. Its history begins in the unrecorded voyages of the Basque and Breton fishermen, the voyages of Verrazani and Cartier. Its first settlements were Port Royal, founded in 1604, and Quebec, founded in 1608. These colonies, were, however, neglected by the French government, which seems to have regarded them only as a field for the operations of the fisher or fur-trader, or the nobler operations of the Christian missionary. When an English force under Argal destroyed Port Royal in 1612, France scarcely noticed it, and when another English expedition, led by a refugee named Kirk, reduced both Quebec and Port Royal in 1629, the French government made so little effort that she recovered possession only in 1632 of the ruins. From this point, however, the colonization proceeded more rapidly, checked only by a constant war with the Five Nations south of Lake Ontario, whose hostility was a necessary consequence of the friendship of the Hurons of Upper Canada, and the Algonquins of the St. Lawrence. The nearest Europeans to the Five Nations were the Dutch, who by supplying them with arms rendered them a deadly scourge to Canada. Had the French Government at all regarded the value of its colony, it would have purchased or wrested New Netherland from Holland, and thus have controlled the Iroquois. Even New England, whose friendly Indians were molested by the Mohawks, would have viewed the step without alarm. But France lay dormant, till one day the Governor of Canada marching to reduce the Mohawks, found the English flag waving at Albany, and learned that the English king had ordered his governor of New York to unite with Connecticut and Massachusetts in reducing Canada. The Dutch had, but from avarice, aided the Five Nations; with the English it was policy, and from this date, February 22, 1666, when Charles II first ordered it, for a hundred years New England, New York and the Five Nations were stimulated in every way to crush Canada. Religious fanaticism was evoked, and the extirpation of their Roman Catholic neighbors was made so completely a part of their religious feeling, if not religious creed, that it furnishes the key to most of the events of the succeeding century, and when baffled by the power which called it forth contributed in no small degree to hasten the American Revolution, and still influences politicy and literature. But while England thus menaced Canada, France was not idle. She now, too, began to plan the conquest of New York and of Boston; and from the date of the English Revolution of 1688, the Border war continued till the fall of Canada.

M. de Callières in 1689 proposed the conquest of New York, but the plan resulted only in the attack on Schenectady; the next year Phipps attacked Quebec by sea, hoping to be supported by Winthrop by way of Lake Champlain, but the latter was unable to proceed, and Phipps repulsed, enabled Louis XIV to commemorate by a medal the liberation of Quebec.

The French then repeatedly invaded the territory of the Five Nations, and in 1701 hoped under Iberville to reduce New York, but in 1709 New York and New England, under Colonel Vetch and Francis Nicholson, made another attempt to invade and conquer Canada, but the plan again failed, and the troops never took the field. In 1711, however, the attempt was again made by a land force under Nicholson, and a fleet under Sir Hovenden Walker, but Walker's fleet was wrecked on the St. Lawrence, and as before Nicholson's army dispersed.

In 1745 the French retaliated by advancing into New York and destroying Saratoga. This led to another abortive Canada expedition in 1745–6. Still pursuing the plan of subduing the French province, a triple army took the field in 1755; but Braddock was defeated and killed on the Monongahela by Beaujeu, and in New York the troops did not, even with their defeat of Dieskau, make much progress towards conquest. In 1759, Amherst again led an army northward, but winter set in before he could enter Canada. Wolfe's victory at Quebec, however, opened the way, and in 1760, Amherst's army of English and provincials entered Canada in triumph, and the wishes of the colonies nurtured for three quarters of a century were gratified.

The toleration which England granted the Canadians was quite naturally in the eyes of the colonists a grievous wrong. It contributed in no small degree to hasten the revolt of the older colony, and in 1775 an army entered Canada to wrest it from England, whom they had aided to capture it. Foiled then, America in 1812 again endeavored to accomplish her long cherished design, but having again failed, the flag she helped to rear above the homes of the French still waves.

Note 27, *page* 57.

The first proposal for an American Episcopate, of which we have any authentic record, was in 1672 or the year following. In one of these years, a resolution was taken by the king (Charles II) in council, to send a bishop to Virginia, and the individual was actually selected on whom the proposed honor should be conferred. Dr. Alexander Murray, who had been the companion of the king in his travels, was the person nominated to be the first bishop in America.—*Dr. Hawks. P. E. Hist. Society Coll.*, I, 137.

Note 28, *page* 60.

This union of the Colonies was a subject frequently brought up. It was one of James II's ideas, and William attempted it. The endeavor to unite Connecticut to New York is well known, and the appointment of Bellomont to Boston and New York was a reverting to the days of Andros. In the *New York Colonial Documents*, there is a curious summary of the reasons of the different colonies for opposing such a union. William Penn's plan of such a union will be found in vol. IV, p. 296.

Note 29, *page* 66.

The Iroquois consisted of five nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Senecas, occupying the heart of what is now the State of New York. The Mohawks lay on their river of that name, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, successively to the west, near their lakes, and west of all, towards the Niagara, lay the Senecas. These names, except the first, are corruptions of their own. The Mohawks called themselves Gagnieguehague, but as the tribe collectively was styled Ganniagaari, the She Bear; the neighboring Algonquin tribes called them Maqua, the Bear, a name which the Dutch and English accepted.

These five nations formed a league, and in their idea, constituted a complete cabin, hence the name for the whole was Hotinonsionni, meaning "they form a cabin."

The family of tribes to which they belonged was widely extended. On both sides of the Niagara were the Attiwandawonk, or Neuters, absorbed by the Senecas, beyond them, on Lake Huron, were the Tionontates, or Dinondadies, now called Wyandots, and dwelling in our west; still further on, were the five nations of the real Wyandots, of whom one nation and fragments of others were absorbed by the Senecas, and other Iroquois tribes, and such as escaped war and famine removed to Quebec.

Some distance inland, to the south of Lake Erie, lay the Erie; east of them the Tiogas; on the Susquehanna the Andastogues, or Susquehannas, called Minquas, by the Dutch. The Patuxents and Piscatoways, of Maryland, were apparently of the same stock, and so certainly were the Meherrin, Nottoway and Chowans, of Virginia. The Tuscaroras of Carolina, were the most southerly tribe of the family* unless we are to class the Cherokees as really belonging to it.

* Mr Gallatin supposed this family divided into two groups, but he failed to identify the Susquehannas with the Andastes, and had confounded these last with the Guyandottes, who were simply the Wyandots, both words being English forms of the name which the French wrote Wendat. The Iroquois origin of some of the Maryland tribes he had not observed, and we may hereafter identify some more of those in Virginia as belonging to this family. We possess vocabularies of the following dialects. 1 Hochelaga, 2 Wendat, 3 Tionontate, 4 Mohawk, 5 Oneida, 6 Cayuga, 7 Onondaga, 8 Seneca, 9 Susquehanna, 10 Nottoway, 11 Tuscarora.

The five nations, or Iroquois, according to their own traditions and those of the neighboring tribes, dwelt formerly on the St. Lawrence, as far down as Gaspé, Quebec, and Three Rivers. The Algonquins drove them back, and Cartier, in 1534, found their first village on the Island of Montreal, although some were still intermingled with the Micmacs.

Of their history during the rest of the sixteenth century, we are almost entirely ignorant. The Mohawks, in a war with the Susquehannas or Andastes, had been nearly annihilated. At the beginning of the seventeenth, we hear of the Iroquois through the French in Canada, the Dutch in New York, the English in Virginia. Champlain having secured the friendship of the various Algonquin tribes on the St. Lawrence, and of their allies, the Hurons in Upper Canada, hoped by active hostilities to drive the Iroquois to peace; and in May, 1609, set out with a war party of Hurons and Algonquins to attack the Mohawks. They ascended the Sorel to Lake Champlain, and on the 29th of July, met and defeated a Mohawk war party, on the banks of the Lake. The next year the French and their allies, defeated another party on the Sorel, and for some years the Mohawks, deterred by fire-arms, seem to have held aloof.

Meanwhile Champlain had proceeded to the Huron country, and in September, 1615, joined an expedition against the Entouhonorons, apparently the Onondagas, and in October attacked their fort, but failed to take it, although Champlain built a tower to overtop their palisade. This victory elated the Iroquois Cantons, who had secured the friendship of the Dutch by the treaty of Tawassgunshee, in 1618. Obtaining fire-arms, they invaded Canada in 1621, attacked a French party near Montreal, and invested Quebec. A short lived-peace was concluded in 1624. Full of proud defiance, they continued the war with the Mohegans, and in 1625 killed the Dutch commander at Albany, Van Krieckebeck, who had rashly joined a Mohegan war party.

This victory made the Dutch henceforth neutral, and the fall of the French power in Canada gave the Iroquois time to deal such blows on the Hurons and Algonquins that they never recovered. In vain did the French, who recovered Canada in 1632, endeavor to shield their allies. The Iroquois war parties scoured the country far and near, spreading on all sides the terror of their name. Whether from policy or from accident, they rarely cut off English settlers.

In 1639 they destroyed Ehwae, a town of the Dinondadies; in 1642, cut off the Hurons from the French, and defeated the Huron flotilla under Ahasistari. The missionary Jogues then taken and led to the Mohawk. Though a party of Mohawks was repulsed at the walls of Fort Richelieu, the next year they led another missionary in triumph to their village. They also destroyed another Huron town, and cut off many parties of Algonquins, notwithstanding the skill and bravery of the able Pieskaret.

In the summer of 1645, the Mohawks made peace with the French and their

allies, at Three Rivers, and the French hoped by converting them to Christianity to make the peace durable, but Father Jogues, the missionary, on proceding to their town, in 1646, was put to death. They plundered Three Rivers in 1647, cut off by treachery their great antagonist, Pieskaret, and completely ravaged the Huron territory.

The force sent out by the League must have been very large. Every strategic point near the French settlements or on their trading routes was occupied, and a large army entering the territory of the Hurons and of the Attiwandaronks, or Neuters. The Hurons lost many, and deeming their frontier too exposed, abandoned Taenhatentaron and St. Johns.

But the Iroquois, on the 4th of July, 1648, took and destroyed the fortified town of Teananstayae, or St. Joseph's, killing the missionary Daniel and his flock.

After destroying the town of St. Ignatius, in March, 1649, they attacked the strong town of St. Louis, which after severe loss, they carried by storm, putting all to death, the missionaries Brebeuf and Lalemant expiring in the most exquisite tortures. An attempt was then made on the town of St. Mary's, but the Hurons made a stand before the town, and though defeated, the Iroquois suffered too severely to think of advancing.

The Huron nation was destroyed; one tribe, the Scanonaerat and a part of the Arendahronon, submitted to the victors, and removed to the Seneca country. Fifteen towns were burnt by the inhabitants, who fled in various directions, some to the Tionontates, some to the Eries, others to the Andastes on the Susquehanna. The missionaries with one remnant remained at St. Mary's, but in the spring removed to Charity Island in Lake Huron, and the whole Huron country was deserted.

The successful Iroquois the next year surprised one of the Dinondadie towns and the remnant of that nation dispersed, a part joining the fugitive Hurons on Charity Island. The Neuters were completely subdued in this campaign, and absorbed by the victorious Iroquois, who carried them off, leaving the whole of Upper Canada a desert.

In the following year they pursued the remnant of the Hurons and Dinondadies, who abandoned Charity Island, the former chiefly descending to Quebec, the latter retreating to Manitouline, where after surprising an Iroquois party, they were for a time unmolested.

In 1651, the Mohawks nearly annihilated the Attikamegués or Whitefish Indians above Three Rivers, and blockaded that French town, killing the governor, Duplessis Bochart, who attempted to raise the siege. In an attempt to take the town, however, the Mohawks lost their great war chief, Aontarisati, but they kept up the seige and menaced Montreal and Quebec; but at last proposed peace.

At the same time Onondagas came to Montreal, as the Eries were waging a harrassing war on the western cantons. Peace was accordingly made in May

1653. In pursuance of this peace a part of the Hurons on Isle Orleans removed to Onondaga, and the Jesuit missionaries began their labors in the Iroquois cantons. The menacing attitude of the Eries and Susquehannas induced them to invite a French colony, and Dupuis, in 1655, began a settlement at Onondaga which proved but of short duration. The Iroquois invaded the Erie territory with a large force led by Achiongeras, and after an obstinate fight took Gentaienton, a considerable town, slaughtering an immense number. A few subsequent campaigns caused the Erie name to disappear. The Onnontiogas, Ahondi, Atiragenratka, Gentaguega, Atiaonrek and Takoulgue were also subdued about this time or shortly before. When the overthrow of these various tribes left them nought to fear, the Iroquois plotted the destruction of the French colony of St. Mary's at Onondaga, and the destruction of the missionaries who had begun to labor in the various tribes, and the French escaped only by stratagem in 1658.

In 1655 the Mohawks renewed their treaty with the Dutch, who were threatened by the River Indians; and now firm in this support, renewed the war with the French and carried it on with vigor till 1667. At the same time they attacked the Abnakis who refused tribute, the Illinois and Dinondadies in the West, and the Susquehannas in the South.

Stuyvesant in 1662 proceeded with the Governor of Nova Scotia, and New England deputies to Albany, to obtain redress for the outrages committed in Maine, but the Mohawks were obstinate.

One Onondaga chieftain, Garacontié, labored earnestly for peace and the civilization of his countrymen, and effected a general peace between the Western Cantons and the French in 1665. The Mohawks and Oneidas held aloof, continuing their war against the French and their allies. Tracy, the French Governor, erected three forts on the Sorel to check their incursions, and sent De Courcelle to ravage the Mohawk towns; he did not indeed succeed, but his inroad in 1666 gave great alarm, and Tracy himself led another army into the Mohawk country which took Caughnawaga, Oct. 17, 1666. This produced a general peace, the French missionaries resumed their labors, and by the powerful aid of Garacontié who became a Christian, gained many from heathenism to the ennobling doctrines of the Gospel. This mission begun by Fremin lasted till 1685, and its results still remain in the three villages of Catholic Iroquois in Canada.

On the capture of New York by the English, a new policy was adopted by government. Nicolls protested feebly in 1666 against the invasion by De Courcelles of British territory, but the Iroquois were still really their own masters making peace with the French, war with Philip, war with Maryland and Virginia, Shawnee and Susquehanna. The war with the last named tribe began in 1661 and ended in 1675, with the overthrow of the nation, who became incorporated with their conquerors, forming a clan apart.

The war of the Mohawks with the Mohegans began soon after the com-

mencement of the war between the western Cantons and the Susquehannas. On the 18th of August 1669, a Mohegan army attacked Caughnawaga, but it was relieved by the other towns, and the Mohawks pursued the Mohegans in their retreat. They subsequently attacked a Mohegan town, but were also repulsed : the government of New York then restored peace.

Meanwhile the missionaries, aided by Garacontiè, were making considerable progress. His death, in 1675, was a severe blow to the missions. At this time, many of the Iroquois converts, and old Huron Christians in Iroquois towns, began to emigrate to Canada. Catharine Ganneaktena, an Erie, founded the village at Laprairie in 1668, which was soon visited by Garonhiague, or Hot Ashes, an Oneida chief, and Kryn, the Great Mohawk. Both settled there, the latter leading from Caughnawaga no less than fifty emigrants for conscience sake at one time. The village thus founded is now at Caughnawaga (C. E.) and St. Regis. A second grew up at the Mountain of Montreal, which is now at the Lake of the Two Mountains.

The Mohawks, after a battle with a portion of Philip's army, made a treaty with New England in 1677, and two years after with Maryland where roving braves had committed ravages.

France meanwhile was encircling the Iroquois territory. A fort rose at Cataracouy where Kingston now stands ; La Salle erected a block house at Niagara and a fort in Illinois. The energetic Dongan, Governor of New York, took alarm and resolved to drive the French north of the lakes. Under his impulse an army of 800 Iroquois marched in May 1683 against the Illinois, Miamis and Ottawas, the allies of France.

Their attack on Fort St. Louis led to a new war. De la Barre, the Governor of Canada, invaded New York with a large force, but after reaching Hungry Bay in 1684, patched up a sham peace, and made a precipitate retreat. The Iroquois had fearlessly awaited him, having just met in council the governors of New York and Virginia and New England deputies. After De la Barre's retreat, Dongan encouraged the Cantons to renew hostilities with the western French Indians, and made every effort to induce them to expel the missionaries. The treachery of Denonville, in seizing some Iroquois chiefs at Cataracouy in 1687 and sending them in chains to France, was however the finishing stroke. The Cantons expelled the missionaries and prepared for war with the French, as they were already at war with the Illinois, Miamis, Hurons and Ottawas.

Denonville, however, invaded the Seneca country with a large force of regulars, provincials, and Indians. The Senecas ambushed his path—a desperate fight ensued July 13, 1687, between them and the Indians in the French service, who finally, though with the loss of Ogeratarihen and Tageretouan, Iroquois chiefs, and Gonhiagui, the Dinondadie, forced the ambuscade. The Senecas then retreated and burned Gaensera, Totiakton and other towns, of all which the French took possession with all the forms of law. A fort was

erected at Niagara as a check on the Indians. Though instructions from England prevented Dongan from pursuing his plans, an Iroquois army beleaguered Fort Frontenac, and a flotilla of canoes attacked an armed French vessel on Lake Ontario. Negotiations however ensued and peace was made at Montreal, June 15, 1688. The Indian allies of the French opposed peace, Abnakis attacked Mohawks at the Sorel, and almost at the Mohawk castles, the Caughnawagas took the field, Kondiaronk, the Dinondadie, by duplicity induced the Iroquois to believe the French merely plotting their ruin.

Andros and Leisler both urged the Cantons to action. A large force set out and on the 25th of Aug., 1689, surprised the village of Lachine by night, butchering on the spot, or by slow torture, two hundred of the wretched inhabitants.

War now existed between England and France, and the work of Dongan in assuring the Iroquois to the English cause, was producing its effect. After destroying Lachine, Leisler planned the capture of Fort Frontenac with an Iroquois force. But the vigorous Frontenac had just returned to Canada bringing back the captive chiefs, and offering to negotiate.

On their refusal he imitated the example so fatally set by Leisler. Lachine justified the use of Indians in destroying the English frontier towns. In February, 1690, Schenectady fell as Lachine had done. A terrible border war ensued. French envoys were seized at Onondaga, the frontiers were ravaged by hostile parties, an English Mohawk band under Schuyler advancing to Laprairie; but the principal operation was the advance of a large force of New York and Connecticut militia, and 1,300 Indians against Montreal, to coöperate with Phipps. Sickness broke out however, and four hundred Iroquois died in the camp. The defeat of Phipps completed the failure of the project.

The next year Schuyler again led his Indians to the very gates of the French camp at Lachine and in a well fought battle on August 11, 1691, killed St. Cyrque, the French commander, but was utterly routed by Valrennes on his homeward march. This and the ravages of Black Kettle, a great Onondaga chief, induced Frontenac to invade the Mohawk country, and on the 16th of February, 1693, he surprised the three towns of the tribe. A Jesuit, Milet, formerly a missionary now a prisoner at Oneida, labored to obtain peace, Tegannisorens, Garakontié II and Oureware did the same.

A series of councils and negotiations ensued at Onondaga, Albany and Montreal, and New England, New Jersey, New York and Canada alike sought to control the action of the League. As the Western Cantons continued the war, Frontenac, in 1696, advanced to Onondaga, which the natives burnt; and wasting that canton and Oneida he returned without meeting an enemy. Heavy losses in the west coming close on this induced the Iroquois to ask for peace, which was soon followed by the general peace of Ryswick (1697).

In this war, the first waged by the Cantons as English subjects, the Iroquois paid dearly for the privilege; in nine years their fighting men dwindled down from 2,800 to 1,300. They accordingly renewed their treaties with the Eng-

lish, but made new treaties with the French, and when the English renewed war maintained their neutrality, as did the Catholic Iroquois in Canada. After much exertion, a force joined Nicholson's expedition, but again the braves of the League perished by disease. Schuyler who had urged the step, now took five chiefs to England, and induced them to join Nicholson's (1711) expedition, a failure like the rest.

By the peace of Utrecht in 1713, France abandoned all claim to the Iroquois.

The warriors of the League then struck at Southern tribes, the Conoys, Tuteloes, and their kindred Tuscaroras, but when these last were overthrown by the English, gave them a refuge and a place as a sixth nation, yet without sachems. The Choctaws and Catawabas were next exposed to their murderous war parties.

The League was however declining, vices began to sap their strength, disease and war had weakened them, no new nations could be brought in as vassals. The French had endeavored to christianize them, the Dutch and English had hitherto done little. But about the time when Miller wrote, the matter was seriously taken up. The labors of Dellius had been but partial. Lord Bellomont, the successor of Fletcher, made great efforts to establish missions, the Society for Propagating the Gospel joined, but no mission was really established till 1705, when Rev. Bernard Freeman took up his residence at Schenectady. His labors were continued by Barclay, Van Driessan, and others, and an Episcopal Church formed in this canton.

The increase of English population drove many, however, to Canada, and others to the banks of the Ohio, where the Senecas and Shawnees formed a town, and where the remnant of the Susquehannas appear, under the name of Mingoes. Unprincipled traders and land speculators had so oppressed them, that when war broke out with France, in 1744, the six nations absolutely refused to take up arms, and it was not till Colden had employed promises and caresses, and Johnson his rising influence, that they took the field, but as on previous occasions, when they joined English expeditions, lost fearfully by smallpox. Some raids were made by the Caughnawagas from Canada, and by the Cantons into that province, but the Six Nations met severe losses, and in 1747, again resolved on neutrality. They indeed lost all British feeling, and the colony of New York began to dread them, while nevertheless it refused them justice. The Moravians, next to the Jesuits the most successful with the red men, at this very juncture offered to found missions, but the government would not adopt any plan for the civilization and due management of the Indian tribes.

Availing himself of the discontent, Picquet, a French priest, in 1749, established a new Christian village at Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburgh, and soon drew numbers from the Cantons. When war broke out, in 1754, Johnson induced the Mohawks to join the expedition against Crown Point. In the

battle with Dieskau, they engaged their kindred Caughnawagas, losing Hendrick, their king or chief, and many of their bravest warriors. On this the Cantons again resumed their neutral ground, and did not again appear on the field, till 1759, when a thousand joined Johnson in the expedition against Niagara, and rendered essential service in the defeat of Aubry. A large body also attended Amherst the next year, but abandoned him after the fall of Fort Levi, as he checked their savage desires.

While the Cantons themselves had thus reluctantly acted in the war, the Canadian Iroquois of Sault St. Louis or Caughnawaga, the Lake of the Two Mountains and Oswegatchie were constantly in the field. All now passed under the British rule, and the Cantons saw how blindly they had acted. Their territory was now to be swept away by the increase of the British colonies. The Iroquois plotted the overthrow of the English, but Keashuta the Seneca lacked the requisites of a leader. When Pontiac divulged his scheme, Keashuta joined him. The Tuscaroras drove the traders from Fort Pitt and slaughtered them at Beaver Creek. The Senecas destroyed Fort Venango and every soul in it, then with the Delawares besieged Fort Pitt.

Sir William Johnson used constant effort to save the rest of the Cantons, and regain those in arms. In a council at Johnson Hall, in September, 1763, the eastern Cantons took up the hatchet against the Senecas and Tuscaroras. Yet at that very moment the Senecas were slaughtering the English train near Fort Schuyler. As Pontiac's power declined, Johnson's influence prevailed, and in April, 1764, the Six Nations made a treaty with him, which was confirmed in a national council at Niagara; Keashuta soon after submitted, and Pontiac's war closed by the treaty of Oswego in July 1766.

Two years after, the king or head chief of the Cherokees made at Onondaga a treaty of peace and friendship with the Six Nations.

In November, 1768, Johnson, in the treaty of Fort Stanwix, agreed with Tyorhansen of the Mohawks, Canaghagueson of the Oneidas, Seguareesera of the Tuscaroras, Otsinoghiyata of the Onondagas, Tegaca of the Cayugas and Guastrax of the Senecas, on a line beyond which the whites were not to encroach. This line started at the mouth of the Tennessee, ran along the Ohio to Kitanning, thence to the fork of the west branch of the Susquehanna, along that branch to Tiadaghton Creek, then to the east branch, following it to Owego, then to the Delaware, and finally to Wood Creek. All other lands were surrendered in consideration of the sum of £10,460 7s. 3d.

New England missionaries, especially Kirkland at Seneca, now attempted to convert the Cantons, and in 1770 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel again attempted the work. The book of Common Prayer was reprinted. In Canada, Oswegatchie was abandoned and its people joined other villages, but the Tarbells, Groton boys, naturalized at Caughnawaga, finding themselves viewed with jealousy, had founded St. Regis in 1756.

In 1774, Cresap provoked the western Iroquois to war, and Logan, of the old Susquehanna tribe, retaliated with fearful vengeance, till his power was broken in the terrible and well fought battle of Point Pleasant.

When the American Colonists rose against the Home government, from whom the Cantons had received but favors, Johnson's dying effort was to bind the Cantons to the crown. All but the Oneidas, who were influenced by Kirkland, espoused the side of England during the revolution, and under Sir John Johnson and Colonel Guy Johnson, seconded by Brant, the real war chief of the Mohawks, proved a terrible scourge to the Americans. The Johnsons convened councils at Oswego—the Provisional government held a general congress at Albany, in August, 1775, the last in which the Cantons together treated with New York. But it failed to change the position they had taken. Strangely enough, the Americans succeeded better with the Caughnawagas, who positively refused to aid the English, and who, when Carleton threatened to deprive them of their land, laconically answered: *We have arms.* They subsequently even offered to send a body of warriors to Washington, but the hero was averse to employing Indians in the war, although Mohawks were actually in the field at St. Johns and at the Cedars against the Americans.

In 1777, it was formally announced that the council fire at Onondaga was extinguished. Brant led the Indians to the siege of Fort Schuyler, and to the battle of Oriskany, where the Mohawks especially suffered. Those in Burgoyne's army proved, however, of little service.

In December, 1777, Congress addressed the Cantons, as a last appeal for neutrality, but in vain. Johnson and Brant from Niagara, were hounding on the warriors to ravage the frontiers. In February, 1778, Lafayette held a council at Johnstown. There were few Mohawks or Cayugas, no Senecas. A treaty was made with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and proffered to the Onondagas.

In June, Brant defeated Captain Patrick; in July he cut to pieces a body of 50 militia; and made Wyoming a scene of slaughter never to be forgotfen. Col. Butler, to chastise this, destroyed Unadilla and Oghkwaga, but Brant took vengeance in the slaughter of Cherry Valley, and peremptorily ordered the Oneidas to join him. The Onondagas fluctuated till Van Schaick marched against them. Then they openly took sides with the English and joined in the predatory war.

To check this, General Sullivan and Clinton in August, 1779, entered their territory, and defeating Brant at the Chemung, wasted their whole district, destroying Chemung and many other towns. All was now desolation, misery and ruin amid the fugitives who crowded around Niagara. Brant was however unbroken; he retaliated by invading Oneida, destroying the castle, church and dwellings; and followed up the blow by ravaging Harpersfield, Schoharie and Canajoharie.

Sir John Johnson, with a force of Tories and Indians amounting to 1550 men, soon after advanced to Schoharie, and after defeating an American detachment under Col. Brown, engaged Van Rensselaer, but was defeated in 1780. The peace left the Iroquois completely at the mercy of the Americans. All but the Oneidas and Tuscaroras resolved to emigrate, and the British government assigned, first, Quinté Bay to the Mohawks, and in 1784 a district on Grand River to all the Cantons. The American government, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, October 22, 1784, confirmed the Oneidas and Tuscaroras in their possessions, guaranteeing to the others the lands in their actual occupation, on their ceding to the General government all west of a line beginning on Lake Ontario at the mouth of Oyonwayea Creek, then south to the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and thence to the north line of Pennsylvania, which it followed west and south to the Ohio. Brant was greatly opposed to this, and endeavored to form a great Indian union against the Americans, but the Iroquois made a new treaty with St. Clair, in 1789, at Fort Harmar, and gradually settled down to a state of peace.

When the western Indians, following Brant's plan, began war in 1790, Pickering negotiated another treaty with all the Cantons except the Mohawk, which renewed in 1794, settled all questions in controversy. New York meanwhile, in 1785 and 1788, purchased the lands of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas and Cayugas, except a reservation for each.

The last council with Pickering, in November, 1794, was attended by some of the greatest men of the League, Honayawus or Farmer's Brother, and Cornplanter or Gyantiwoha, who had both fought under Beaujeu, and Sagoyewatha or Red Jacket, the most eloquent Indian of his day.

From this time the various Cantons have ceded most of their lands. The Cayugas began in 1795, and dispersed, some joining the Senecas, some going to Grand River, and others to the west The condition of peace led to some improvement. Brant among the Mohawks employed his time in translating the book of Common Prayer and part of the Bible, and till his death in 1807, labored for the real good of his countrymen. The Quakers, as early as 1796, began their civilizing labors among the Oneidas, and soon after among the Senecas. The Oneidas, already converted in part to Christianity, were rapidly becoming a civilized people. Among the heathen portion, who had now forgotten their ancient deities and worshiped only Hawen-niio, the Lord God of the Christians, arose the prophet Ganeodiyo, who produced a great reformation, especially in regard to the use of intoxicating liquors.

In 1803, the Rev. E. Holmes, a Baptist clergyman began a mission among the Tuscaroras; and in 1805, the Rev. Mr. Cram of the Evangelical Missionary Society of Massachusetts attempted to found a mission among the Senecas, but was repulsed by Red Jacket.

Tecumseh drew some Senecas to his standard, and in the war of 1812 the Canada Iroquois were very actively engaged, and rendered great service to

the English cause. The American Indians at first sought neutrality, but took the field after a time, and the two sections of the League were thus carrying on the destruction of the nation. After the battle of Chippewa, both sides, however, laid down the hatchet.

Onondaga was deemed the centre and head of the League. Each tribe was divided into families, the Bear, Wolf, and Tortoise, with subordinate ones not uniform in all the tribes. Each of the families had certain hereditary sachemships. The sachems were the rulers of the nation. They succeeded in the female line, and the great sachem of Onondaga, the Atotarho or Sagochiendaguete, was the head of the League. No one could marry a person of the same family, even though of another tribe. The rules on this point were very minute. They adored originally, Aireskoi, or Tharonhiawagon, but learning the name Dieu, from the French, address God as Niio, which enters into the common form, Hawennii, God who art master. The worship of Aireskoi was by offerings of the flesh of animals, tobacco, and the like, and at times by human sacrifice. They honored also genii, or spirits, especially those of maize, pumpkins, and beans. Their worship had certain great feasts of the year, some, especially the Hononouaroia, marked by very strange rites.

They interred the dead temporarily, and about every tenth year, collected all the remains in one long grave, lined with furs, and containing kettles, arrows, and various articles. These are the bonepits occasionally met in excavations.

Prisoners were treated with great cruelty, forced to run the gauntlet, mutilated, and often burnt at the stake. The invention of this savage custom, and of scalping, was attributed by the Algonquins to the Iroquois. The dress of the men, was a mere breech cloth between the thighs, the ends hanging over a girdle, and that of the women, a short petticoat of furs, both wearing moccasons and leggins, and at times a mantle, and afterwards a blanket. Their houses were of bark, laid over a good frame like an arbor rounding on top. These houses were ranged in streets, and surrounded by a palisade, beyond which lay their fields.

Their numbers never, probably, since 1600, exceeded 15,000, if they ever reached that point, and are now about 9,000, which may safely be taken as their average population.

On the restoration of peace, the Rev. J. C. Crane founded, in 1817, a Seneca mission that still subsists, the tribe dividing into a Christian band, under Pollard, and a heathen band adhering to Red Jacket, who persisted in his hostility till his death in 1830, although his family had become Christians. The Methodists established and still continue a mission at Oneida.

In 1826 and 1839, the Senecas, or rather a few drunkards in their name, sold to the Ogden company all but the Tonawanda reservation, and the tribe lost 200,000 acres. This led to emigration. In 1840, 430 Oneidas and

500 Senecas removed to *Grand River*. Others at an earlier date, settled at Sandusky, and were subsequently removed by the General government, west of the Mississippi. In 1820, the Oneidas purchased a tract on Green Bay, and a party removed thither. Among these *Eleazer Williams*, subsequently the *soi distant* Louis XVII, labored as an Episcopal missionary.

A party of Senecas, Tuscaroras and Cayugas, about 1846, set out for the lands west of Missouri, were imposed upon, and nearly all perished. The survivors returned heart-broken to New York.

In 1849, the Senecas abandoned the old Sachem system and adopted a constitution with elective chiefs, and both sexes adopted more closely the dress of the whites. At the same time, the state authorized each tribe to divide the land held in common among the individuals or families. Provision was also made for schools and for the education of Indian teachers at the State Normal School.

The Catholic villages in Lower Canada have had an uneventful history. Caughnawaga, Aquasasne or St. Regis and Canasadaga or the Lake of the Two Mountains, are quiet villages, where the Indians live much like the whites around them, more indolent, but possessing churches, schools and council halls.

Note 30, *page* 68.

Arnout Cornelisson Viele, the Government interpreter, figures frequently in accounts of this time. He was taken prisoner in 1687, by Denonville, on his expedition against the Senecas, and came on bearing a letter to Gov. Dongan. Having sided with Leisler he lost his office under Fletcher, but was restored by Bellomont and rendered good service.

Note 31, *page* 69.

Mr. Miller's advice may seem strange, but its wisdom seems to have been admitted. The Bible has never been translated into any of the Iroquois dialects. In the commencement of the last century, the Rev. Mr. Freeman translated St. Matthew, a part of Genesis and Exodus, and a few Psalms. This was never printed; but in the *Mohawk Book of Common Prayer*, printed in New York, in 1715, Genesis I, II, III; Matthew, I (in part), II, V, and Psalms, I, XV, XXXII, appeared. The same parts of Genesis were reprinted with the prayer book at New York, in 1769. Not possessing a copy of the prayer book printed at Quebec in 1780, I can not say whether it contained any part of the Bible. St. Mark translated by Brant was printed with the Common Prayer, London, 1787, and reprinted at New York in 1829; St. John was printed at New York in 1818; St. Matthew in 1831; St. Luke in 1833; Acts and Romans and Galatians in 1835, and Isaiah in 1839.

In the other dialects no part of the Bible has been printed except St. Luke which appeared in Seneca in 1829.

Thus not only no Bible, but not even a Testament has ever been printed in any of the languages of the Five Nations, the rulers of central New York, although the Bible societies of New York have printed both in tongues of far distant nations. See Dr. O'Callaghan's *Catalogue of American Bibles*, pp. 26, 146, 201, 214, 228, 244-5, 263, and his History of the Translation of the Book of Common Prayer into the Mohawk Language, in the *Historical Magazine*, I, 14.

END.

GOWANS'

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4

"I look into the times of old, but they seem dim, like reflecting moonbeams, on a distant, placid lake."..... *Ossian.*

"Civil History, it is of three kinds; not unfitly to be compared with three kinds of pictures or images we see; some are unfinished, some are perfect, and some are defaced. So of histories we may find three kinds, Memorials, Perfect Histories, and Antiquities; for Memorials are history unfinished, or the first or rough draughts of history; and Antiquities are history defaced, or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time. Histories make men wise, poets witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep, moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend; "*Abeunt studia in mores.*".....*Lord Bacon.*



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BY THOMAS BUDD.

A NEW EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COPIOUS HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY EDWARD ARMSTRONG,

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, &C.,

Who loves fair nature, fails not here to find
Her charms in all variety combined;
Her magic hand profuse has here bestowed
Hill, valley, mountain, glen, and foaming flood,
Innum'rous islets crowned with shrubs and flowers,
Moistened with rainbow spray, and sparkling showers,
Sweetly bestrew each river's craggy bed,
While frowning rocks above, their sorrow spread;
Meadows and groves enrobed in living green,
Adorn their banks and deck the beauteous scene.—DRYDEN.

"Agriculture is so universally understood among them, that neither man nor woman is ignorant of it. They are instructed in it from their childhood, partly at school and partly by practice, being frequently led into the fields near the town, where they not only see others at work, but become exercised in it themselves. Beside agriculture, so common to them, every man hath some peculiar trade, as the manufacture of wool or flax, masonry, smith's or carpenter's work. They wear one sort of clothes, without any other distinction than what is necessary for different sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never changes, is easy and agreeable, suited to the climate, and for summer as well as winter.
SIR THOMAS MORE.



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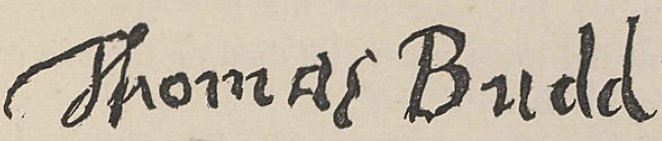
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INTRODUCTION.



the author of [1] this book, was the son of the Rev. Thomas Budd, of the parish of Martock,[2] Somersetshire, England. The latter was "an established preacher of the national church, and having been convinced of the truth as professed by the Quakers, separated himself from that church, renounced his benefice, and became a minister of the gospel, without money and without price.[3]" He did not flinch from what he conceived to be the line of duty, and having permitted a meeting for religious worship to be held at his house, which the rabble broke in upon and dispersed, was arrested as a disturber of the peace, and although discharged from custody the end was not yet.[4] Persecution for opinion sake raged throughout England; the most cruel opposition followed any attempt to exercise religious

[1] Fac-simile autograph of the author.

[2] MARTOCK, SOMERSETSHIRE, a parish and market town in the hundred of Martock on the river Parret, 166 miles from London. * * The town consists chiefly of one long street with a market house near the centre. The living *All Saints*, a discharged vicarage, with the curacy of Load in the Archdeanry of Wells and Diocese of Bath and Wells at present has a value of £194. Parish contains 6,930 acres; established population in 1849, 3,479. See 3d vol. Clarke's *British Gaz.*, Lond., 1852.

[3] Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, I, 580, in note.

[4] See note at end of introduction.

liberty. Budd was a marked man. In 1661 he was required to take the "oath of obedience" prescribed by the statute 1st James I, passed "for the better discovering of papist recusants."

Although willing to affirm, and entirely loyal, he could not take an oath and comply with the requirements of an oppressive statute perverted to an oppressive purpose. He was arrested, indicted, found guilty, and receiving sentence of præmunire, lingered out his few remaining years in the jail at Ilchester, where he died on the 22d of June, 1670, firm in his faith.[1]

The father's dying wish was answered. Thomas Budd attached himself to the society of Friends, and leaving England arrived at Burlington, New Jersey, in the year 1678, an ardent upholder of the rights of conscience, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberty, and ready to lend his influence to their fundamental establishment "for all people" within the province.

John Cripps, in a letter dated at that place 19th 4 m., 1678, and written to a relation in England, refers to Budd as having had "far more experience" of West Jersey than some other individual, whose name he does not give, "could have had in the short time he was among us." The writer further states that Budd also had written "and endeavored to satisfy, as near as he could, of the truth of things."[2]

[1] "A faithful man, having been a prisoner at Ilchester about 8 years and 4 months under sentence of præmunire, departed this life in much peace, declaring some hours before his death that he had renewed his engagements and covenants with God, and was therein well satisfied, and expressed a firm hope and belief, that God would support him as in life, so in death, with the right hand of his righteousness. He also rejoiced and praised God that his children did walk in the way of the Lord."—*Besse*, I, 609.

[2] Smith's *New Jersey*, 100, 108.

From this we conclude that Budd came in the beginning of 1678.[1] During his residence in West Jersey he held several important offices and was a leading man in the province.

In the year 1681, he was, by act of Assembly, appointed with Thomas Gardiner one of the receivers general to collect £200 for the purpose of defraying the debts of the province, and in the same year was chosen one of the commissioners for "settling and regulation of lands," a member of the governor's council and one of the regulators of weights and measures.[2]

In 1682 and '83, he was elected to the Assembly and rechosen land commissioner and councillor, and in the

[1] The following is a list of all the vessels which arrived in the Delaware from Great Britain between the years 1675 and 1679. It is probably not complete, although there is no available source within our knowledge to make it more so. After 1679 the arrivals were much more numerous.

The "Griffith," from London, arrived in 1675 with Fenwicke and his company, and landed at the spot called by him Salem. Smith, p. 79, says this was the first English ship that came to West Jersey, and Proud states (I, 137), that "it was near two years before another followed," which was the "Kent," Gregory Marlow, master, and which arrived from London at New Castle, 16, 6m., August, 1677.—*Smith*, 93. "Phenix," Matthew Shearer, master, arrived 6th m., 1677.—From a copy in possession of editor of a *MS. Registry of Arrivals*. "Flie Boat Martha," of Burlington, Yorkshire, sailed from Hull in Aug., 1677.—*Smith*, 102. A copy of *MS. Registry of Arrivals* says the Martha, Thomas Wildtuys, master, arrived in 7th m., 1677. "Willing Mind," John Newcomb, master, from London, arrived Nov., 1677 —*Smith*, 102. *MS. Registry of Arrivals* says 28th 7th m., 1677. "Shield," of Hull, Daniel Towes, master, arrived 10th month (O. S.), 1678. —*Smith*, 108. "Elizabeth and Sarah," Richard Ffriend, master, arrived 29th 3 m., 1679.—*MS. Registry*. "Elizabeth and Mary," of Weymouth, arrived 4th 4th m., 1679.—*MS. Registry*. "Jacob and Mary," Richard Moore, master, arrived 12th 7th m., 1679.—*MS. Registry*.

[2] Smith, 130, 152; see also Leaming and Spicer's Laws.

latter year with Thomas Gardiner again commissioned one of the treasurers of the province.[1]

Budd and Francis Collins, in 1683, were each to have 1,000 acres, "parts of lands to be purchased of the Indians above the falls," the present site of Trenton, N. J., in consideration and discharge for building a market and court house, at Burlington.[2]

And in the same year Budd was appointed by the Assembly to draw up a letter to Edward Byllinge, and also an instrument containing the state of the case of the proprietors with Edward Byllinge.[3]

Such was the satisfaction he gave in the handling of this business that it led to further employment in it.

In 1684 the Assembly resolved "that the matter relating to the demand and consideration of the right of the corporation and freeholders to the government, against Edward Byllinge's pretence to the same, be proceeded in, and a demand to Edward Byllinge for his confirmation of what he hath sold be first made" and Budd, with Thomas Jennings, were appointed to negotiate the affair in England.

The poverty of the province was such that it was unable to provide funds to defray the expenses and salaries of its commissioners, and Jennings and Budd with Thomas Oliver became bound for 100 pounds sterling in the public account for the charges of the commission, and received fifteen hundred acres above the falls as their security, the title to be made when the land was purchased of the Indians.[4]

In 1684 Budd sailed upon his mission, and it was during his stay in England that *Good Order* was published, and

[1] Leaming and Spicer's Laws, 442, 445, 458. [2] Idem., 467. [3] Idem., 482.

[4] Idem, 485, 487.

which appears to have been given to the printer on the 25th of October, 1685.

In the latter end of the year he returned to West Jersey, and was with his brother, James Budd, chosen a member of the Assembly, and became one of the chief promoters in the erection of the new Meeting House at Burlington.[1]

This, so far as the records inform, was his last appearance in public life in that province, and it is likely he shortly afterwards removed to Philadelphia, for on the 17th 9th m., 1685, he petitioned the provincial council of the province of Pennsylvania for a special court to end a difference between Philip Th: Lehman and himself.[2] He probably at this time began to give his attention to mercantile pursuits.

We meet no further reference to him until the 7th of 12th mo., 1688-9, when we find his application to the provincial council of Pennsylvania conjointly with others representing their "design in setting up a bank for money, and requesting incouragement from the governor's council for their proceeding therein." Blackwell, Penn's deputy governor, replied "that some things of this nature had been proposed and dedicated to the proprietor by *himself* some months since," that he hoped shortly to hear from Penn and *encouragingly* suggested that he knew "no reason why they might not give their personall bills to such as would take them as money, to pass as Merchants usually did bills of exchange, but that it might be suspected that such as usually clipp'd or coyned money would be apt to counterfeit their bills unless more than ordinary care were taken to prevent it which might be their ruine, as well as ye peoples that should deal with

[1] Idem., 502. [2] Provincial Minutes of Pa., 163.

them."[1] Although Budd's name does not head the petition we little doubt that he was the originator of the movement, as he had already, in his tract, urged the establishment of a bank, and that the mind of Blackwell had been directed to project by the arguments which Budd had already put into print. The information volunteered by the governor was not new to the petitioners, and if we hear no more about the establishment of a bank the seed sown by Budd did not lie dormant, and the scheme whose utility our author had so well recommended in his publication, eventually took shape in the erection of a Loan Office, whereby all the benefits Budd had predicted happily resulted.

The public spirit manifested by Budd was exhibited in an enterprise, the first of the kind attempted in Philadelphia. Having become, about the year 1689 or 1690, the owner of property on the west side of Front street, adjoining the Draw Bridge, or dock, at the Blue Anchor Tavern on the south, and extending along Front street towards Walnut street, he erected a row of houses which were known as Budd's Row or Budd's Buildings. Two of the original houses were standing in the beginning of this century.

In 1689 he again went to England and returned to Philadelphia in the following year.

In 1691 the unhappy schism occurred in the society of Friends by the desertion of George Keith. Some of the principal persons who adhered to Keith, and were men of rank, character and reputation in these provinces, and divers of them great preachers, and much followed, were Thomas Budd, &c.[2]

As in all convulsions, civil or religious, so in this, the

[1] Provincial Min. of Penn., I, 236. [2] I. Proud, 369, in note.

father was often found arrayed against the son, and brother against brother, and the melancholy result of the breach was visible for many years. Keith was properly disowned by the society in 1692, and doubtless also Budd, although we discover no evidence of that fact upon record. The schism produced, as is usual on such occasions, an abundance of published controversy.

Samuel Jennings had rendered himself obnoxious to Keith, and the latter in a publication entitled *Plea of the Innocents*, reflected upon Jennings and the magistracy. The result was a presentation by the grand jury of Philadelphia, of Keith and Budd as the authors of the attack, an eventual trial, and a sentence of £5 against each, which was however never exacted.[1] Budd did not desert Keith but fully identified himself with his cause, and finally went to England with him in 1694 to defend him before the yearly meeting.

From this year, 1694, to the period of his death, or rather of the date of the probate of his will at Philadelphia, that is in March, 1698, we find little about Budd. We have no information as to his age or personal appearance. His will indicates the possession of no real estate, save that which he devised to his son Thomas, and in which his son lived, "being the corner house nearest the dock." To his two daughters he gives £100 each, and his will contains no residuary clause.

The inventory of his personal effects amounts to but 457 pounds, although from the records and the account filed by his executor, who was his eldest son, and his mercantile partner, he owned other real estate than that mentioned in his will. By his wife Susanna, who survived him, and was a prominent Friend and who adhered

[1] Idem., 373.

to the society, he appears to have had four children; John, the eldest son, to whom we have referred, and of whom more presently; Thomas, who died at Philadelphia in 1699, leaving issue, Mary and George, whose descendants we are unable to trace, and daughters Mary, born at Burlington, 2d 7th mo., 1679, who married William Allen and was an ancestress of Chief Justice Allen, of the supreme court of the province of Pennsylvania, and Rose, also born at Burlington, 13th 1st month, 1680, but of whom we know nothing more.

John, the eldest son, and who it seems was at one time sheriff of Philadelphia county, having left and been probably disowned by the society, became a Presbyterian and active in the religious concerns of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, then under the charge of the Rev. Jedediah Andrews. He afterwards removed to the township of *New Hanover*, then in Hunterdon, now in the eastern part of Morris county, New Jersey, adhering to his adopted faith and attaching himself to the church at Hanover, or Whippany as it was sometimes called.[1] He held the position for many years of agent to the Proprietaries. In his will recorded in the office of secretary of state at Trenton, dated Sept. 6, 1749, and proved 16 May, 1754, in which latter year we presume he died, he states he was "very aged." His wife Sarah survived him and he had several children although we can give the name of but one, *Berne*, who left sons John C., and David, and a daughter Sarah. John C., just named, also left sons, Berne W., a physician, and Vincent, both dead, and John S., who still lives near Chatham, N. J., and eight daughters. David, already mentioned, had issue, William T., Israel W., and one daughter. John Budd, the son of the author,

[1] Webster's *Hist. of the Presb. Church*, 315, 415, 482.

was the owner of considerable real estate in Philadelphia, and its vicinity, and of some 20,000 acres of land in New Jersey. We are informed, however, that these large possessions were of little avail to his descendants, from the fact that his widow, having married his former agent, joined with the latter in conveying land; and the titles thus attempted to be made were for so long a time allowed to remain unimpeached that the statute of limitations barred the prosecution of any claim.

Our author had several brothers, *James*, of whom we have spoken and who was drowned at Burlington; *John*, who died at Philadelphia in 1704 without issue, and *William* Budd, who died in 1723 at his farm in Northampton Township, Burlington County, about four miles west of Mount Holly, and who by his will left a benefaction to the Episcopal Church of St. Mary's at Burlington, of which he appears to have been a steadfast member, and where he is buried, and also land in Northampton Township[1], on which to build a Church. His descendants are very numerous in Pennsylvania, and in southern New Jersey, and we believe that with the exception of those of the name who trace their origin to Thomas Budd, and who are comparatively few, all the rest in the regions referred to are descended from the first William. Rachel Budd, a grand-daughter of the latter, married Wm. Bradford, whose ancestor was the famous printer of that name, and became the mother of Wm. Bradford, born 14 Sept., 1753, and who was appointed in 1794, by Washington, Attorney General of the United States. Ann, a daughter of the first William Budd, married James Bingham, whose descendant

[1] "I give unto the Episcopal Church of England 100 acres of land, reserved out of my son's, for a Church to be built thereon, and a school to be kept; the said Church to be built thereon within ten years after my decease." —Will of *William Budd, of Northampton*, made 1708.—*Records at Trenton.*

Ann, the daughter of William Bingham, intermarried with Alexander Baring, whose son, Wm. Bingham Baring, became Lord Ashburton.

A work quaintly entitled: "England's Improvement by Sea and Land. To outdo the *Dutch* without fighting. To pay debts without money. To set at work all the poor of England with the growth of our own Lands. To prevent unnecessary suits in Law. With the benefit of a voluntary Register, &c., by Andrew Yarranton,[1] Gent., London, 1677," 8vo, pp. 195, is copiously quoted by Budd, and doubtless suggested to him the composition of this tract.

It does not, however, in the least diminish Budd's merits as an author that he should have had a model and have

[1] Yarranton, at the end of his book gives the following curious account of himself and his various employments. "I was an Apprentice to a Linnen Draper when this King was born (Charles II), and continued at the Trade some years. But the shop being too narrow and short for my large mind, I took leave of my Master, but said nothing. Then I lived a country life for some years, and in the late Wars I was a soldier, and sometimes had the honor and misfortune to lodge and dislodge an Army: In the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-two, I entered upon Iron works, and pli'd them several years, and in these times I made it my business to survey the three great rivers of England, and some small ones; and made two navigable and a third almost completed. * * * If any gentleman, or others please to put pen to paper in opposition to what is here asserted I shall give him a civil return, bound up with the second part, where these seven heads shall be Treated on." His 6th head contains the following announcement.

"6thly. How to employ six thousand young lawyers, and three thousand Priests, for the good of the Public and mankind, who now have neither practice nor cure of souls."

Yarranton published besides his "England's Improvement," another work entitled "Yarranton's Improvement by Clover."

Some account may be found of him in "Dove's Elements of Political Science, pp. 402–470, Lond., 8vo, 1854," which account has also been published separately in 12mo, and the best biographical sketch is in Smile's Industrial Biography, pp. 60–76, Lond., 8vo, 1863.

freely used it, for no one can read this production without being struck with the forecast and originality of many of his views, and above all, with the public spirit which inspired the publication of a work whose sole aim seems to have been, to set forth to his countrymen the advantages presented in the choice of a new home in the wilderness of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The publisher has done good service to the historical student in selecting it as one of his valuable series of books relating to American history.

We beg to express our acknowledgments to the Rev. John M. Thomson, of Hanover, N. J.; Miss Sarah B. Comly, of Biberry Philad.; Messrs. Nathan Kite, and John William Wallace, of Philadelphia, for information concerning Thomas and William Budd; to Mr. J. D. Hall (in office of the Secretary of State, Trenton), for facilities in examining records; to Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, of Albany, and Mr. William A. Whitehead, of Newark, for valuable references, and to Messrs. Wm. J. Allinson and C. Baquet, of Burlington, N. J.

Note.

The following is the account of Budd's examination, and to which reference has been made on the first page of the introduction. It is a picture of the times, and proves how straightforwardness and honest shrewdness sometimes baffle those who seek to entrap.

The history of the persecution of the Quakers is full of examples as striking as this selected, in which the parties questioned were driven by the replies received to conclusions as undesirable as they were unexpected — into

dilemmas from which there was no escape even by equivocation.

"On the 7th of the month called April, this year (1657) was a meeting at the house of Thomas Budd, in the parish of Martock, to which five Priests came, attended by a rabble furnished with staves, cudgels, pitch-forks and such like rustic arms. They rushed into the meeting with so much confusion and noise that the preacher could not be heard. Their coming indeed made it a riotous assembly, which the moment before was a congregation of grave and serious Christians of sober and virtuous conversation, and some of them of considerable estates. However, the Priest who brought the mob and caused the riot, complained to the magistrates that the meeting held at Thomas Budd's was a riotous assembly, to the destruction of the public peace. Whereupon one Captain Raymond, with his soldiers, was ordered to disperse the next meeting that should be held there. Accordingly he came thither on the 23d of the same month, when Thomas Salthouse was preaching and took him, together with Thomas Budd, into custody, and conducted them next day to Robert Hunt, Justice of the Peace, they were by him and others examined.

Justices. What is your name?

T. S. Thomas Salthouse.

Justices. Do you acknowledge subjection to the present government of this Nation?

T. S. I own the higher power, and the wholesome laws of this land, which are grounded upon the law of equity, by which I stand to be judged, and am now brought before you in submission to the present government by Captain Raymond's order. I expect the privilege of a free born Englishman, to wit: Liberty of conscience, to wait upon and worship God in spirit, according as is exprest in the Instrument of government.

Justices. We require you to be uncovered before the Magistrate.

T. S. I am sensible that I am in the presence of the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, and I know of no offence in standing before Him with my hat on; and if it be no offence to Him, who is the Lord and Master, I hope its none to moderate men, though magistrates, that are but his servants.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Justices. How are you maintained? How do you live?

T. S. I want for nothing; I have food and raiment, and am therewith content.

Justices. An highwayman would say so much for himself.

T. S. Do you look upon me to be such an one? To whom have I been burdensome? or where is mine accuser that hath any thing to lay to my charge?

Justices. Here is Captain Raymond doth accuse you.

T. S. It's well he is present. His words cannot be wrested. Captain Raymond! What hast thou to lay to my charge, or accuse me of?

Capt. Raymond. You slighted me, and gave me no good account of your business, or whence you came, or where you lived.

T. S. That was not a fit time to examine me, the company being in confusion and disorder and several speaking to me who had no authority. Though I denied not to answer them, nor do I now deny either my name, birth, or outward habitation. I have a father and mother living, who have a good estate in the outward, from whom I have been, and may expect to be, supplied, when I have need of anything in the outward.

Justices. There is a scripture that you little mind: He that will not work, neither let him eat.

T. S. I own that scripture, and must answer you with another: Cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently.

BUDD'S EXAMINATION.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Justice Hunt. Do you know what calling he is of? (Referring to Salthouse).

T. B. I know not of what calling he hath been formerly, but I believe he is called to preach the gospel.

Justice Hunt. What ground have you to believe that he is called to the ministry?

T. B. Because the word preached by him has reached my heart.

Priest Walker. Can you own that man to be a true minister, that will not acknowledge the scriptures to be the word of God? What say you Mr. Budd. Are the scriptures the word of God, yea, or no?

T. B. Christ is the word; and the scriptures a true declaration of him.

Priest. But do you own the scriptures, both of the old and new testament, to be truth?

T B. Yea, I do.

Priest. Gentlemen, I shall desire you to give me leave to ask Mr. Budd some further questions.

T. B. Thou art no Justice of the Peace, therefore I am not bound to answer thee.

Priest. But seeing the gentlemen have given me liberty, let me ask you did you ever take tithes when you were a minister?

T. B. I have never sued any man for tithes, while I acted as a minister

in the national way; and if any are free to give their tithes to the minister I have nothing against it; but for ministers to enforce the payment of tithes from the people by lawsuits, I know no law in scripture that will warrant such a practice.

Justice Hunt. If men were free to pay these dues, the minister would have no need to sue them.

T. B. Possibly they may not profit by their ministry and therefore they are not free to pay them.

Justice Hunt. Though they are evil ministers, yet the people are not to withold their dues from them; for Judas had a maintenance as well as the rest of the Apostles.

T. B. If any are free to maintain a Judas, they may use their liberty.

I desire to ask one question more of Mr. Budd: Do you own the resurrection of the just and unjust?

T. B. Yea, I do.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Justice Cary. Mr. Budd, your friends are much grieved that you have been a man so much given to change.

T. B. I wish all my friends would turn all their grief into grief for their own sins. And not only I, but Paul himself doth witness a change, saying of himself, that he was a persecutor, a blasphemer and injurious, but God shewed mercy.

Justice Hunt. Did not you preach Christ formerly, when you were a minister?

T. B. Yea, I did preach Christ in a national manner, but now I witness him in life and power.

Justice Hunt. Do you own magistrates and government?

T. B. Yea, I do.

Justice Hunt. Is not honor due to magistrates?

T. B. Yea, to such magistrates as are a terror to evil doers.

Priest. But there is honor due to evil magistrates.

T. B. What, as being evil?

Priest. Yea.

T. B. *Wilt thou set it down in writing under thy hand?*

Justice Hunt. Nay, it is not due to them as evil but as magistrates.

T. B. This I own: That there is honor due to the power, for there is no power but of God.

Justice Hunt. Do you then distinguish between the person and the power?

T. B. Yea.

Justice Hunt. So then it seems there is honor due to the power, but none to the person: How then is this honor expressed?

T. B. Not by flattering titles and compliments, but by love, service, duty and obedience." — Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, I, 578.

This examination shows with what a noble spirit of undaunted innocence and intrepidity these men maintained their religious right of assembling together for the worship of God, for which they stood ready to sacrifice their liberty, and even life itself. Notwithstanding this convincing proof, both of the meekness and magnanimity by which true Christian sufferers in the cause of a good conscience are supported, the issue was that the justices sent Thomas Salthouse to prison.

Good Order Eſtabliſhed

IN

Pennſilvania & New-Jerſey

IN

AMERICA,

Being a true Account of the Country; With its Produce and Commodities there made.

And the great Improvements that may be made by means of **Publick Store-houſes** for **Hemp, Flax** and **Linnen-Cloth**; alſo, the Advantages of a **Publick-School**, the Profits of a **Publick-Bank**, and the Probability of its ariſing, if thoſe directions here laid down are followed. With the advantages of publick **Granaries**.

Likewiſe, ſeveral other things needful to be underſtood by thoſe that are or do intend to be concerned in planting in the ſaid Countries.

All which is laid down very plain, in this ſmall Treatiſe; it being eaſie to be underſtood by any ordinary Capacity. To which the *Reader* is referred for his further ſatisfaction.

By Thomas Budd.

Printed in the Year 1685.

Those that have generous Spirits, whose desires and Endeavours are to bring the Creation into Order, do I dedicate This, the first Fruits of my Endeavours.

I *Taking into consideration the distressed Condition that many thousand Families lie under in my Native Country, by reason of the deadness of Trade, and want of work, and believing that many that have great store of Money that lies by them unimploy'd, would be willing and ready to assist and encourage those poor distressed People, by supplying them with Monies, in order to bring them out of that Slavery and Poverty they groan under, if they might do it with safety to themselves. These Considerations put me on writing this small Treatise, wherein I hope the Reader will have full Satisfaction, that the Rich may help to relieve the Poor, and yet reap great Profit and Advantage to themselves by their so doing, which if it so happen that Rich and Poor are benefitted by following the Advice here given, then will be answered to the hearty Desires of.* (See note No. 1).

Your True and Well-wishing Friend
THOMAS BVDD.

It is to be noted, that the Government of these Countries is so settled by Consessions, and such care taken by the establishment of certain fundamental Laws, by which every Man's Liberty and Property, both as Men and Christians, are preserved; so that non shall be hurt in his Person, Estate or Liberty for his Religious Perswasion or Practice in Worship towards God. (See note No. 2).

PENNSYLVANIA and *New-Jersey* in *America* lieth about forty and forty two Degrees of North Latitude, and is severed the one from the other by the River of *Delaware* on the West, and separated from *New York* Collony by *Sandy-hoock-Bay*, and part of *Hudsons* River on the East. The dayes in the Winter are about two hours longer, and in the Summer two hours shorter than in *England*, the Summer somewhat hotter, which causeth the Fruits and Corn somewhat to ripen faster than in *England*, and the Harvest for *Wheat*, *Rye* and *Barley*, being about the latter end of *June*. In the Winter season it is cold and freezing Weather, and sometimes Snow, but commonly very clear and Sun-shine, which soon dissolves it. (See note No. 3).

The Country is well Watered, the River of *Delaware* being navigable for Ships of great burthen to *Burlington* (see note No. 4), which from the *Capes*, or entrance, is accounted an hundred and forty Miles; and for Sloops to the Falls, which is about ten miles farther.

The Bay of *Sandy-Hoock* (see note No. 5), on *East-Jersey* is a safe and excellent Harbour for any Fleet of Ships, which can lie there in all Weathers, and go in

and out to Sea in Winter, as well as Summer, and Ships of great Burthen can lie close to the Town of *New-Perth*, (see note No. 6) which renders it a good Scituation for Navigation, from whence in six Hours time at most, Ships can go out into the Sea; and close by the Town of *Perth* runs up *Rariton* River. From the Falls of *Delaware* River the *Indians* go in Cannows up the said River, to an *Indian* Town called *Minisincks*, which is accounted from the Falls about eighty miles; but this they perform by great Labour in setting up against the Stream; but they can come down with ease and speed; the River from the Falls runs from the North and North-West about twenty miles, as I my self observed in my Travel so far by the River, but by the *Indians* Information, it cometh about more Easterly farther up. I have been informed, that about *Minisincks* (see note No. 7), by the Rivar-side, both in *New-Jersey* and *Pennsylvania* is great quantities of exceeding rich open Land, which is occasioned by washing down of the Leaves and Soil in great Rains from the Mountains, which Land is exceeding good, for the raising of *Hemp* and *Flax*, *Wheat*, or any other sorts of Corn, Fruits, Roots &c. Where in time may be conveniently settled a Manufacture for the making of *Linnen Cloth*, *Cordage*, *Twine*, *Sacking*, *Fishing-Nets*, and all other commodities commonly made of Hemp or Flax: And after great Rains, we may bring down great quantities of Goods in flat-bottom-Boats, built for that purpose,

which will then come down, by reason of the Land-floods with speed.

And into this River, betwixt the Capes and the Falls, run many navigable Rivers and Cricks, some of them fifteen or twenty Miles, and others less, which Rivers and Cricks are made by the plenty of Springs and Brooks, that run out of the Country, many of which Brooks are so considerable, as to be fit to drive Mills. And above the falls, in travelling of twenty Miles by the Rivers side, I went over twenty runnings of water, five or six of them being fit to build Mills on.

The Country for the most part is pretty leavel, until we come about ten Miles above the Falls, where it is Mountanious for many Miles, but interlaced with fertile Valleys. The Bay and River of *Delaware*, and the Rivers and Cricks that runs into it, are plentifully stored with various sorts of good *Fish* and *Water-Fowl* as *Swans*, *Geese*, *Ducks*, *Wigeons*, &c. And a considerable *Whale*-Fishery (see note No. 8), may be carried on in the Bay of *Delaware*, and on the Sea-Coasts of *New-Jersey*, there being *Whale*-Fisheries already begun, plenty of *Whales* being by experience found there, and the Winter-time being the time for the catching them, they will not thereby be hindred of raising there Summer-Crops; and the Oyl and Bone being good commodities to be sent for *England*, there also being in the Bay of *Delaware* and *Sandy-Hoock*, *Drums*, *Sheeps-Heads*, *Bass*, and other sorts of large

Fish, which may be fit to salt up in Casks to keep for use, and Transportation also. There are great plenty of *Oysters*, which may be pickled and put up in small Casks for use. Likewise, in *Delaware* River are great plenty of *Sturgion*, which doubtless might be a good Trade, if mannaged by such Persons as are skilful in the boyling and pickling of them, so as to preserve them good to *Barbadoes*, and other adjacent Islands. There are also in the Spring great quantities of a sort of Fish like *Herrings:* with plenty of the Fish called *Shads*, but not like the *Shads* in *England*, but of another kind, being a much better sort of Fish; the Inhabitants usually catch quantities, which they salt up, and pack them in Barrels for Winter's Provision.

The Lands from the Capes, to about six Miles above *New-Castle* (which is by estimation ninety Miles) is for the most part very rich, there being very many navigable Cricks on both sides of the River, and on the River and Cricks are great quantities of rich fat Marsh Land, which causeth those parts, to some fresh People, to be somewhat unhealthful in the latter part of the Summer, at which time some of them have *Agues:* Also in and near these Marshes, are small Flies, called *Musketoes*, which are troublesome to such People as are not used to them; but were those Marshes banked, and drained, and then plowed and sowed, some Years with Corn, and then with *English* Hay-seed, I do suppose it would be healthful, and very little troubled with *Musketoes;* and if Cattle did commonly feed on this Ground, and tread it as in *England*, I suppose it

would not be inferior to the rich Meadows on the River of *Thames;* and were quantities of this Land laid dry, and brought into Tillage, I suppose it would bear great Crops of *Wheat, Pease* and *Barley, Hemp,* and *Flax,* and it would be very fit for *Hop-Gardens,* and for *English* Grass, which might serve for rich Pastures or Meadow. Also these Marshes are fit for *Rape,* and were *Rape*-Mills built, and the design mannaged, so as it would be if it were in *England* or *Holland,* a great Trade might be carried on, and many hundred Tuns of *Rape*-Oyl might be made yearly, and sent to *England,* to the Planters inrichment; and not only so, but would be for Merchants advantage, they thereby having Goods to freight their Ships, which would tend to the benefit of the Inhabitants in general.

And if those Trades and Designs are carried on to effect, as are mentioned in this Treatise, there would naturally follow Trade and Imployment for *Shipwrights, Boat-wrights, Coopers, Carpenters, Smiths, Ropers, Mariners, Weavers, Butchers, Bakers, Brewers;* and many other sorts of Trades would have full Imployment.

From six Miles above *New-Castle* to the Falls of *Delaware* (which is about sixty Miles) and so to the Head of the said River, the *Water* is clear, fresh, and fit for Brewing, or any other use.

The *Air* clear and good, it being supposed to be as healthful as any part of *England.*

The *Land* is in Veins, some good, and some bad,

but the greatest part will bear good Corn, as *Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, Indian Corn, Buck-Wheat, Pease* and *Indian Beans, &c.*

Fruits that grow natural in the Countries are *Strawberries, Cramberries, Huckleberries, Blackberries, Medlers, Grapes, Plums, Hickery-Nuts, Walnuts, Mulberries, Chestnuts, Hasselnuts, &c.*

Garden Fruits groweth well, as *Cabbage, Colworts, Colliflowers, Sparagrass, Carrots, Parsneps, Turnups, Oynions, Cowcumbers, Pumkins, Water-Mellons, Musk-Mellons, Squashes, Potatoes, Currants, Goosberries, Roses, Cornations, Tulips,* Garden-Herbs, Flowers, Seeds, Fruits, *&c.* for such as grow in *England,* certainly will grow here.

Orchards of *Apples, Pears, Quinces, Peaches, Aprecocks, Plums, Cheries,* and other sorts of the usual Fruits of *England* may be soon raised to good advantage, the Trees growing faster than in *England,* whereof great quantities of *Sider* may be made. And were Glass-houses erected to furnish us with Bottles, we might have a profitable Trade, by sending *Sider* to *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes,* &c. ready bottled, which is commonly so sent from *Herefordshire* to *London.*

It is supposed that we may make as good Wines as in *France,* (if Vineyards were planted on the sides of Hills or Banks, which are defended from the cold North-West Winds) with such Vines as the *Frenchmen* commonly make those Wines of; for the Climate is as proper as any part of *France,* therefore it is rational to believe, that the Wines will be as rich and

good as in *France*. There are some Vineyards already planted in *Pennsylvania*, and more intended to be planted by some *French-Protestants*, and others, that are gone to settle there. (See note No. 9).

Several other Commodities may be raised here, as *Rice* which is known to have been sown for a tryal, and it grew very well, and yielded good encrease.

Also *Annis-Seeds* I have been informed groweth well, and might be a profitable Commodity, there being great Quantities used in *England* by Distillers.

Liquorish doubtless would grow very well. And I question not but that *Mather*, *Woad*, and other Plants and Roots for Dyers use might be raised. *Shuemack* groweth naturally. Also several useful Drugs grow naturally, as *Sassafrass*, *Sassaperella*, *Callamus*, *Aromaticus*, *Snake-Root*, Iallappa, &c.

The *Pine-Tree* groweth here, out of which is made *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Rosin*, and Turpentine: In *New-England* some make quantities of *Tar* out of the knots of *Pine Trees*, with which they supply themselves and others.

There are many other sorts of *Plants*, *Roots* and Herbs of great Virtue, which grow here, which are found to cure such Distempers as the People are insident to.

Hops in some places grow naturally, but were *Hop*-Gardens planted in low rich Land, quantities might be raised to good advantage.

There is no *Lime Stone* as we yet know of, but we make *Lime* of *Oyster* Shels, which by the Sea and

Bay side are so plentiful, that we may load Ships with them.

There are several sorts of good *Clay*, of which Bricks, Earthen-Ware, and Tobacco-Pipes are made; and in some places there are Quaries of a ruf hard Stone, which are good to wall Cellars, and some Stone fit for Pavement.

The *Trees* grow but thin in most places, and very little under-Wood. In the *Woods* groweth plentifully a course sort of *Grass*, which is so proving that it soon makes the Cattel and Horses fat in the Summer, but the *Hay* being course, which is chiefly gotten on the fresh Marshes, the Cattel loseth their Flesh in the Winter, and become very poor, except we give them Corn: But this may be remydied in time, by draining of low rich Land, and by plowing of it, and sowing it with *English*-Grass-seed, which here thrives very well.

The *Hogs* are fat in the Woods when it is a good Mast-year.

The Woods are furnished with store of Wild Fowl, as *Turkeys*, *Phesants*, *Heath-Cocks*, *Patridges*, *Pidgeons*, *Blackbirds*, &c. And People that will take the pains to raise the various sorts of tame Fowl, may do it with as little trouble, and less charge, than they can in *England*, by reason of what they find in the Woods.

Bees are found by the experience of several that keep them, to thrive very well.

I do not question but that we might make good strong sound *Beer*, *Ale* and *Mum*, that would keep well

to *Barbadoes* the Water being good, and *Wheat* and *Barley* in a few Years like to be very plentiful: Great quantities of *Beer*, *Ale* and *Mum* is sent yearly from *London*, and other places, to *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, and other Islands in *America*, where it sells to good advantage; and if *Beer*, *Ale* and *Mum* (see note No. 10), hold good from *England* to those places, which 'tis said is above one thousand Leagues; I question not but if it be well brewed in a seasonable time of the Year, and put up in good Casks, but it will keep good to be Transported from *Delaware* River to those Islands aforesaid, which by computation, is not above half so far. If Merchants can gain by sending *Beer*, *Ale* and *Mum* from *England*, where Corn is dear, and Freight is dear, by reason of the length of the Voyage, we in all probability must get much more, that buy our Corn cheap, and pay less Freight.

Flower and *Bisket* may be made in great quantities in a few Years, the Wheat being very good, which seldom fails of finding a good Market at *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, and the *Carieb* Islands: great quantities are sent yearly from London, and other places, which if they can make Profit of it, we much more for the Reasons already given.

Pork is but about half the price as in *England*, therefore the Inhabitants will seldom have their Market spoiled by any that come from *England*, of which Commodity the Inhabitants in a few Years will have Quantities to sell to the Merchant, which is salted, and packed in Barrels, and so transported to

Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis, and other Islands. Hams of *Bacon* are also made, much after the same manner as in *West-Falia,* and the Bacon eats much like it.

Our *Beef* in the Fall is very fat and good, and we are likely in a few Years to have great Plenty, which will serve our Families, and furnish Shipping.

Our *Mutton* is also fat, sound and good being only fed with natural Grass; but if we sprinkle but a little *English* Hay-Seed on the Land without Plowing, and then feed Sheep on it, in a little time it will so encrease, that it will cover the Land with *English* Grass, like unto our Pastures in *England,* provided the Land be good. We find the Profits of Sheep are considerable.

Our *Butter* is very good, and our *Cheese* is indifferent good, but when we have Pastures of *English* Grass, (which many are getting into) then I suppose our *Cheese* will be as good as that of *England.*

Our *Horses* are good serviceable Horses, fit both for Draught and Saddle, the Planters will ride them fifty Miles a day, without Shoes, and some of them are indifferent good shapes; of which many Ships are freighted yearly from *New-England* with Horses to *Barbadoes, Nevis,* and other places; and some Ships have also been freighted out of *Pennsylvania* and *New-Jersey* with Horses to *Barbadoes;* but if we had some choise Horses from *England,* and did get some of the best of our Mares, and keep them well in the Winter, and in Pastures inclosed in the Summer, to prevent there going amongst other Horses, we might then

have a choice breed of Horses, which would tend much to the advantage of the Inhabitants. (See note No. 11).

The Commodities fit to send to *England*, besides what are already named, are the Skins of the several wild Beasts that are in the Country, as *Elks*, *Deer*, *Beaver*, *Fisher*, *Bear*, *Fox*, *Rackoon*, *Marten*, *Otter*, *Woolf*, *Muskquash*, *Mink*, *Cat*, *&c.*

Potashes may be here made, and *Soap*, not only to the supply of our selves, but to sell to our Neighbours.

Also *Iron* may be here made, there being one *Iron*-Work already in East-*Jersey*. (See note No. 12).

Likewise, we may furnish Merchants with Pipe-Staves, and other Coopers Timber and Hoops.

The *Woolen* Manufacture may be mannaged in *Pennsylvania* and *New-Jersey*, to good advantage, the upper parts of the country being very fit for the keeping of Sheep, the Wool being found to be good, and the Sheep not subject to the *Rot:* The Ewes commonly after the first time, being two Lambs at once.

But it may be queried, *How shall the Sheep be preserved from the Woolf?*

I answer; Get such a Flock as it may answer the charge, for a boy to make it his full Employment to look after them, and let them be penned at Night in a House or Fold provided for that purpose. If one man have not enough to imploy a Shepherd, then let several joyn their Stock together.

But it may be queried, *Where shall Wool be gotten to*

carry on the Woollen Manufacture, untill we have of our own raising?

I answer; in *Road-Island*, and some other adjacent Islands and Places, Wool may be bought at six Pence a Pound, and considerable quantities may be there had, which will supply until we can raise enough of our own.

Also, we may have *Cotton*-Wool (see note No. 13) from *Barbadoes*, and other adjacent Islands in returns for our Provisions that we send them. So that the making of Cotton-Cloth and Fustians may be likewise made to good advantage, the *Cotton-Wool* being purchased by the growth of our own Country; and the Linnen-Yarn being spun by our own Families, of *Flax*, of our own growth and ordering.

The *Tanning*-Trade and *Shomaking* may here be mannaged to good advantage, *Hides* being plenty, and to be had at moderate Prices, and *Bark* to be had for only the charge in getting it.

A *Skinner* that can dress Skins in Oyl, may do very well; for we have *Elk* skins, and plenty of *Buck* and *Doe* skins, which the Inhabitants give (at *New York*, where there are such Trades) one half for dressing the other.

There ought to be *publick Store-Houses* provided for all Persons to bring their Flax, Hemp and Linnen Cloth to, where it may be preserved clean and dry at a very small Charge, and the owner at liberty to take it out at his own will and pleasure, or to sell, transfer or assign it to another. Now the Hemp, Flax and Linnen Cloth being brought into the publick Store-

House, and the Quantity, Quality and Value of it there registred in the Book, to be kept for that purpose; and the Person that hath put in the said Hemp, Flax and Linnen Cloth, taking a Note under the Hand and Seal, from the Store-house Register, of the quantity, quality and value of the Hemp, Flax and Linnen Cloth, brought into the publick Store-House, with the time it was delivered; these Notes will pass from one man to another all one as Money: *As for Example*, Suppose I am a Merchant, that am furnished with divers sorts of goods, I sell them to a Planter, and receive their Notes which they had from the Store-house *Registry*, in pay for my goods, to the value of one hundred Pounds. I buy of the Clothier in Woolen Cloth to the value of sixty pounds, and of the Roper in Cordage to the value of forty pounds; I pay them by these Notes on the Store-house; the Clother he buys Woolen Yarn of the Master of the Spinning-School, to the value of sixty pounds, and payes him by these Notes on the publick Store; the Master of the Spinning-School buys of the Farmer in Wool to the value of sixty pounds, and pays him by these Notes; the Farmer buyeth of the Merchant in Goods to the value of sixty pounds, and pays him by these Notes; the Merchant receiveth on demand, from the publick Store, in Linnen Cloth to the value of sixty pound, at receiving thereof he delivereth up the Notes to the Register of the publick Store, which are cancelled, and then filed up as Waste paper. The

Roper, when he pleaseth, receives on demand, in Hemp to the value of forty pounds out of the publick Store, by which he is made capable of imploying his Servants in making of Cordage; but he that hath no occasion to take out this Hemp or Flax, or Linnen Cloth, may pass these Notes from one man to another, as often as they please, which is all one as ready Money at all times.

Were the Flax and Hemp Manufacturies carried on to that height as it might be, it would greatly advance these Countries; for did we make our own Sail-cloth and Cordage, we could make Ships, Sloops and Boats at much easier Rates than they can build for in *England*, the Timber costing us nothing but Labour. And were more Saw-Mills made (see note No. 14) (of which there are divers already) to cut Planks and other Timber, both Ships and Houses might be built at easier Rates.

Many Ship Loads of Hemp is brought yearly from the East Countries to *England*, which is afterward there made into Cordage, Twine, Sacking, Fishing-Nets &c. and then transported from thence to *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *Virginia*, *New-England*, and other parts of *America*, so that doubtless materials made of Hemp, must be sold in *America* by the Retailer, at double the price as it cost where it grew; by which it appears that at those prices we should have double for our labour, to what they have, and our Provisions as Cheap as theirs, it being raised on Land that cost us little.

1. Now It might be well if a Law were made by the Governours and general Assemblies of *Pennsylvania* and *New-Jersey*, that all Persons inhabiting in the said Provinces, do put their Children seven years to the publick School, or longer, if the Parents please. (See note No. 15).

2. That Schools be provided in all Towns and Cities, and persons of known honesty, skill and understanding be yearly chosen by the Governour and General Assembly, to teach and instruct Boys and Girls in all the most useful Arts and Sciences that they in their youthful capacities may be capable to understand, as the learning to *Read* and *Write true English*, *Latine*, and other useful Speeches and Languages, and *fair Writing*, *Arithmetick* and *Book-keeping*; and the Boys to be taught and instructed in some Mystery or Trade, as the making of *Mathematical Instruments*, *Joynery*, *Twinery*, the making of *Clocks* and *Watches*, *Weaving*, *Shoe-making*, or any other useful Trade or Mystery that the School is capable of teaching; and the Girls to be taught and instructed in *Spinning* of *Flax* and *Wool*, and *Knitting* of *Gloves* and Stockings, Sewing, and making of all sorts of useful *Needle-Work*, and the making of *Straw-Work*, as *Hats*, *Baskets*, *&c.* or any other useful Art or Mystery that the School is capable of teaching.

3. That the Scholars be kept in the Morning two hours at *Reading*, *Writing*, *Book-keeping*, *&c.* and other two hours at work in that Art, Mystery or Trade

that he or she most delighteth in, and then let them have two hours to dine, and for Recreation; and in the afternoon two hours at *Reading, Writing, &c.* and the other two hours at work at their several Imployments.

4. The seventh day of the Week the Scholars may come to school only in the fore-noon, and at a certain hour in the afternoon let a Meeting be kept by the School-masters and their Scholars, where after good instruction and admonition is given by the Masters, to the Scholars and thanks returned to the Lord for his Mercies and Blessings that are daily received from him, then let a strict examination be made by the Masters, of the Conversation of the Scholars in the week past, and let reproof, admonition and correction be given to the Offenders, according to the quantity and quality of their faults.

5. Let the like Meetings be kept by the School-Mistrisses, and the Girls apart from the Boys. By strictly observing this good Order, our Children will be hindred of running into that Excess of Riot and Wickedness that youth is incident to, and they will be a comfort to their tender Parents.

6. Let one thousand Acres of Land be given and laid out in a good place, to every publick School that shall be set up, and the Rent or income of it to go towards the defraying of the charge of the School.

7. And to the end that the Children of poor People, and the Children of *Indians* may have the like good Learning with the Children of Rich People, let them

be maintained free of charge to their Parents, out of the Profits of the school, arising by the Work of the Scholars, by which the Poor and the *Indians*, as well as the Rich, will have their children taught, and the Remainder of the Profits, if any be, to be disposed of in the building of School-houses, and Improvements on the thousand Acres of Land, which belongs to the School.

The manner and Profits of a Spinning-School in *Germany*, as it is laid down by *Andrew Yarenton* in his own words, in a Book of his, call'd, *England's Improvements by Sea and Land*, take as followeth.

'In *Germany*, where the Thred is made that 'makes the fine Linnens, in all Towns there are 'Schools for little Girls, six years old, and upwards, to 'teach them to spin, and so to bring their tender 'fingers by degrees to spin very fine; their Wheels go 'all by the Foot, made to go with much ease, whereby 'the action or motion is very easie and delightful: The 'way, method, rule and order how they are govern'd 'is, 1st. There is a large Room, and in the middle 'thereof a little Box like a Pulpit: 2dly, There are 'Benches built round about the Room, as they are in 'Play-houses, upon the benches sit about two hun-'dred Children spinning, and in the box in the middle 'of the Room, sits the grand Mistress with a long 'white Wand in her hand; if she observe any of them 'idle, she reaches them a tap, but if that will not do, 'she rings a bell, which by a little Cord is fixed to

'the box, and out comes a Woman, she then points to 'the Offendor, and she is taken away into another 'Room and chastized; and all this is done without 'one word speaking: In a little Room by the School 'there is a Woman that is preparing, and putting Flax 'on the Distaffs, and upon the ringing of a Bell, and 'pointing the Rod at the Maid that hath spun off her 'Flax, she hath another Distaff given her, and her 'Spool of Thred taken from her, and put into a box 'unto others of the same size, to make Cloth, all being 'of equal Threds. 1st. They raise their Children, as 'they spin finer, to the higher Benches: 2. They sort 'and size all the Threds, so that they can apply them 'to make equal Cloths; and after a young Maid hath 'been three years in the *Spinning-School*, that is taken 'in at six, and then continues until nine years, she 'will get eight pence the day, and in these parts I 'speak of, a man that has most Children, lives best.

Now were Spinning-Schools settled in the principal Cities and Towns in *Pennsylvania* and *New-Jersey*, and a Law made to oblige the Parents of Children, to put their Children to School, we should then soon come into such a way of making Linnen-Cloth, as that we should not only have sufficient for our own supply, but also should have quantities to sell to the Inhabitants of our own neighbouring Provinces, where it will sell at considerable Prices, they being usually supplied from *England*, where it must be dear, after Freight, Custom, and other charges at Importation, with the Merchants

profit considered; and yet nevertheless this Cloth, thus dear bought will sell in *New-England*, *Virginia*, and some other places in *America*, at thirty Pound *per cent* profit, above the first cost in *England*, and the Moneys paid by Bills of Exchange, and the Retalier makes commonly on Goods thus bought not less than twenty Pounds *per cent.* profit: So that if all things be considered, the Cloth is sold in *America*, to the Planter at full double the price as it cost from the maker in *France* or *Germany*, from whence its brought to *England*, by which it doth appear, that if we do get such Prices for the Cloth that we make, then we shall have double for our Labour to what they have; therefore it may be well that a Law were made for the encouragement of the *Linnen Manufacture* by the Governours and General Assemblies, that all Persons inhabiting in *Pennsylvania*, or *New-Jersey*, that keep a Plow, do sow one Acre of *Flax*, and two Acres of *Hemp*, which would be a means of supplying us with *Flax* and *Hemp*, to carry on the Manufacturies of *Linnen-Cloth* and *Cordage;* and also would be very profitable to the Planter, by imploying his Family in the Winter season, when they would have otherwise but little else to do, *viz.* the Men and Boys in Breaking and Dressing of it, and making it fit for use, and the Women and Girls in Spinning it, and nevertheless they may carry on their Husbandry as largely, as if nothing of this was done; the Husbandry—Affairs being chiefly betwixt the Spring and Fall.

Now to that end that a *Bank* of *Monies* and *Credit* may be in *Pennsylvania* and *New-Jersey*, a Law may be made, that all Monies lent on Interest be at 8 l. *per cent.* by the year, and that all Bills and Bonds be entred on the publick Registry, and by Act of Assembly be made transferable by Assignments, so as the Property may go along with the Assignment; thereby a Bond or Bill will go in the Nature of *Bills of Exchange;* and so A. owing 200 l. to B. he assigns him the Bond of C. who owed him 200 l. and C. owing D. 200 l. assigns him the Bond of E. who owed him 200 l. and so one Bond or Bill would go through twenty hands, and thereby be as ready Monies, and do much to the Benefit of Trade. Also, that all Lands and Houses be put under a publick Registry, and entred in the Book, with an account of the value of them, and how occupied and tenanted, a particular thereof being given under the Hand and Seal of the Office to the Owners. We having thus fitted our selves with a publick Registry of all our Lands and Houses, whereby it is made ready Money at all times, without the charge of Law, or the necessity of a Lawyer; and a Law being made for the payment of such large Interest for Monies lent, and the security being so undeniably good, a Bank will in time arise, and such a Bank as will be for the Benefit and advantage of *Pennsilvania* and *New-Jersey*, and Trade universal. (See note No. 16).

Suppose myself, and some others have in Houses

and Lands in *Pennsilvania* or *New-Jersey*, worth 3000 l. and are minded to mannage and carry on the Linnen Manufacture, but cannot do it, without borrowing on Interest 2000 l. therefore we come to the Bank in *Pennsilvania* or *New-Jersey*, and there tender a particular of our Lands and Houses, and how occupied or tennanted, being worth 3000 l. in *Pennsilvania* or *New-Jersey*, and desire them to lend us 2000 l. and we will Mortgage our Land and Houses for it; the answer will be, *We will send to the Register's Office your particular, and at the return of the Messenger you shall have your answer:* The Registers send answer, it is our Lands and Houses, and occupied, and tenanted, and valued according to the particular, there needs no more words but to tell us the Money, with which we carry on the Trade briskly, to the great benefit and advantage of some hundreds of People that we set to work, and to the supplying of the Inhabitants with Cloth made of Flax, grown, drest, spun and wove in our own Provinces; which Trade we could not mannage and carry on without this credit, but having this credit, we go on with our Trade comfortably, and the Lender will have his ends answered, and his Moneys well secured. And its certain, such an Anchorage, Fund, and Foundation, will then bring out the Monyes unimployed from all Persons in these Provinces, even People of all degrees will put in their Monyes, which will be put out again into Trade to Merchants, and

such as stand in need of ready Monyes; and thereby Trade is made easie, and much convenienced.

Suppose ten Families purchase in *Pennsilvania* or *New-Jersey* five thousand Acres of Land, and they lay out a small Township in the middle of it, for the conveniency of neighbourhood, to each Family one hundred Acres for Houses, Gardens, Orchards, Corn-fields and Pastures of English Grass, the remainder to lie in common, to feed their cattel; and suppose that by that time they have built their dwelling Houses, Cow-houses, Barns, and other Out-houses, and have made Enclosures about their home-lots, that their Monyes is all expended, and without a further supply to buy Oxen and Horses to plow their Land, and Cows to find their Families in Milk, Butter and Cheese, and Sows to breed a stock on, they will live but meanly for some time, therefore to amend their condition they come to the Bank, and there tender a particular of their Lands, valued to be worth 1500 l. on which they desire to take up 1000 l. to purchase a Stock of Oxen, Horses, Cows, Sows, Sheep and Servants, by which they will be enabled to carry on their Husbandry to great advantage, and the benefit of the Province in general; and it may be that in two or three years time, they may be able to pay in this Money, with Interest, to the owner; and in two or three years more may be able to bring into the Bank, to be lent out to others, one thousand pounds of their own Estates.

As to the benefit of publick Granaries on *Delaware River*, to keep the Corn for all Merchants, Bakers and Farmers that please to send it thither, that so the destruction and damages occasioned by Rats and Mice, may be prevented. In this Granary, Corn at all times may be taken in, from all Persons that please to send it, and the Corn so sent may be preserved sweet, safe, and in good Order, at a small charge for a whole year, and the owner at liberty to take it out at his own will and pleasure, or to sell, transfer or assign any part of the said Corn to any Person or Persons for the payment of his Debts, or to furnish himself with Cloathing, or other Necessaries from the Merchant; and the Granary-keepers to give good security that all things should be faithfully done & discharged. Now the Corn being brought into the publick Granary, and there registered in the Register-Book, to be kept for that purpose; and the Person that hath put in said Corn, taking a Note under hand and seal, from the Granary-Register, of the quantity of Corn brought into the Granary, with the time it was delivered, and the matter and kind of the Corn, then these Advantages will ensue:

First, Preservation from the Rats and Mice, Straw to supply his Cattel, the Chaff for his Horses, and the light Corn to feed his Pigs and Poultry; his Husbandry mannaged with rule and order to his advantage; no forc'd haste, but thrashing and carrying the Corn to the Granary in times wherein his servants

have leisure; so in seeding time & harvest all People are freed from that. Besides, there being at all times sufficient quantities of Corn in the Granaries to load Ships, Merchants from *Barbadoes*, and other places, will come to buy Corn; of one Farmer he may buy one hundred Bushels, of another fifty, and so he may buy the Corn that belongs to sixty or eighty Farmers, and receive their Notes which they had from the Granary-Office, which Corn he letteth lie in the Granary until he have occasion to use it, then he orders his Baker to go with those notes to the Granary-Office, and receive such quantities as he hath a mind shall be made into Flower and Bisket, which the Baker does accordingly, and gets it packt up in Casks, and sent to *Barbadoes;* the remainder, if he please, he may sell to some other Merchant that lives at *Barbadoes*, or some other place, and when sold, may deliver the said Merchant the Notes on the Granary-Office, at sight whereof they may receive their Corn, if they please, or they may pass those Notes from one to another, as often as they please, which is all one as Money, the Corn being lodged safe, and kept in the publick Granary, will be the occasion of imploying much of the Cash of *Pennsilvania* and *New-Jersey;* most People near these publick Bank-Granaries, will be dealing to have some Corn in Bank-Credit; for that cannot miss of finding an encrease and benefit to them in the rise of Corn.

The best places at present for the building of

Granaries, are, I suppose, *Burlington* in *West-Jersey*, *Philadelphia* and *New-Castle* in *Pennsilvania*, and *New Perth* in *East-Jersey*, which places are excellently situated, there being many Navigable Rivers, whereby Trade is very communicable, and the Corn may be brought in Boats and Sloops from most places now inhabited, by water to these publick Granaries, for small charge, and from the Granaries may be carried to Water-Mills to grind, which are some of them so conveniently situated, that Boats may come to the Mill-Tayl, which is also a great conveniency to those that trade much in Corn.

Now I will demonstrate, and shew you the length, breadth and heighth the *Granaries* ought to be of, to hold this Corn; as also the Charge of building one of them, and the way how it should be built for the best advantage, with the way of ordering and managing the Corn, that it may keep good, sweet and clean, eight or ten years. The *Granaries* must be three hundred Foot long, eighteen Foot wide betwixt inside and inside, seven Stories high, each Story seven Foot high, all to be built of good well burnt Brick, and laid in Lime and Sand very well; the ends of the *Granaries* must be set *North* and *South*, so the sides will be *East* and *West*; and in the sides of the *Granaries*, there must be large Windows to open and shut close, that when the Wind blows at *West*, the Windows may be laid open, and then the *Granary* man will be turning and winding the Corn, and all Filth and

Dross will be blown out at the Window. When the Weather is fair, then throw open the Windows, to let in the Air to the Corn; and in the middle, there must be Stoves to be kept with Fire in them in all moist or wet times, or at going away of great *Frosts* and *Snow*, to prevent moistness either in the Brick-walls, Timber, Boards or Corn. There must be in each side of the *Granaries*, three or four long Troughs or Spouts fixt in the uppermost Loft, which must run about twenty Foot out of the Granary; and in fine Weather, the *Granary* men must be throwing the Corn out of the uppermost Loft, and so it will fall into another Spout made ten Foot wide at the top, and through that Spout the Corn descends into the lowermost Loft, and then wound up on the inside of the Granary, by a Crane fixt for that purpose, and the Corn receiving the benefit of the Air, falling down thirty Foot before it comes into the second Spout, cleanseth it from its filth and Chaff; these Spouts are to be taken off and on, as occasion requires, and to be fixt to another of the Lofts, that when Vessels come to load Corn, they may through these Spouts convey the Corn into the Boats or Sloops, without any thing of Labour, by carrying it on the Backs of men.

The charge of one *Granary* three Hundred Foot long, eighteen Foot wide, seven Stories high, seven Foot betwixt each story, being built with Brick in *England*, as by the Account of *Andrew Yarenton*, take as followeth; *Six hundred thousand of Bricks builds a*

Granary, *two Bricks and a half thick the two first Stories, two Bricks thick the three next Stories, Brick and a half thick the two uppermost Stories; and the Brick will be made and delivered on the Place for eight Shillings the Thousand, the laying of Brick three Shillings the Thousand, Lime and Sand two Shillings the Thousand; so Brick-laying, Lime and Sand will be thirteen Shillings the Thousand, one hundred and fifty Tuns of Oak for Summers-Joists and Roof,* 170 l. *Boards for the six Stories, sixty thousand Foot, at* 13s. 4d. *The one hundred Foot and ten thousand Foot for Window-Doors and Spouts at the same rate,* 48 l. *Laths and Tiles* 100 l. *Carpenters work* 70 l. Iron, Nails and odd things 60 l. *So the charge of a Granary will be* 800 l. *There will be kept in this* Granary *fourteen thousand Quarters of Corn, which is two thousand Quarters in every Loft, which will be a thousand Bushels in every Bay; six labouring men, with one Clerk, will be sufficient to manage this* Granary, *to turn and wind the Corn, and keep the Books of Accounts; fifteen pounds a piece allowed to the six men, and thirty pound a year to the Clerk and Register, will be Wages sufficient; so the Servants Wages will be* 120 l. per annum, *allow ten in the hundred for Monies laid out for building the* Granaries, *which is* 80 l. *so the charge will be yearly* 200 l. *Now if the Country-man pay six pence a Quarter yearly for keeping his Corn safe and sweet in the Granary, fourteen thousand Quarters will come to* 350 l. *for Granary-Rent yearly.*

Admit I have a Propriety of Land in *Pennsilvania* or *New-Jersey*, either place then alloweth me to take up five thousand Acres, with Town or City-Lots, upon condition that I settle ten Families on it, therefore I send over ten Families of honest industrious People, the charge of each Family is 100 l. as by the account of particulars appears, as followeth.

	l.	s.	d.
For one hundred Acres of Land -	05	00	00
For the Passage of the Family, five persons, - - - - - -	25	00	00
For fresh provisions to use on Ship-board, over and above the Ships allowance, as *Rice*, *Oatmeal*, *Flower*, *Butter*, *Sugar*, *Brandy*, and some odd things more, which I leave to the discretion of those that go, - - - - -	05	00	00
For 3 hundred weight of six penny, eight penny and ten penny Nails, to be used on sides and Roof of the House, -	05	00	00
For a Share and Coulter, a Plow-Chain, 2 Scythes, 4 Sickles, a horse Collar, some Cordage for Harness, 2 Stock Locks, 2 weeding Hoes, 2 grubbing Hoes, one cross-cut Saw, 2 Iron Wedges, 1 Iron Pot, 1 frying Pan, 2 falling Axes, 1 broad Ax, 1 Spade, 1 Hatchet, 1 Fro to cleave Clapboard, Shingle and Coopers Timber, - -	05	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
For Portridge, Custom-house charge and freight, &c. on the goods, - -	02	00	00
For Insurance of the one hundred pound - - - - - -	03	00	00
In all - - -	50	00	00

The remaining fifty Pounds may do well to lay out in these goods, which are the most vendable in the Country, *viz.*

	l.	s.	d.
Ten pieces of Serge, at - - -	20	00	00
Six pieces of narrow blew Linnen, containing about two hundred Yards, -	05	00	00
200 Els of brown Ossembrigs, at about - - - - - -	07	10	00
Half a piece of three quarters Dowlis,	03	10	00
Three pieces of coulered Linnen -	02	10	00
Two pieces of Yorkshire Kerseys, -	04	00	00
One piece of red Peniston, above 40 yards, at 18 *d, per Yard,* - - -	03	00	00
One piece of Demity, - - -	00	15	00
In Buttons and Silk, Tape and Thred suitable to the Clothes, - - -	03	15	00
In All - -	50	00	00

And when you come into the Country, you may lay out the above-mentioned goods to purchase a stock of Cattel and Provisions, *&c.* which for goods at the first cost in *England,* will buy at the prices under-mentioned, *viz.*

	l.	s.	d.
One pair of working Oxen, at -	06	00	00
One Mare 3 l. and four Cows and Calves, 12 l. - - - -	15	00	00
One Bull 2 l. ten Ewes 3 l. 10 s. -	05	10	00
Four breeding Sows, and one Boor, -	04	00	00
One fat Ox to kill for winter Provisions, - - - - - - - -	03	10	00
400 pound of Pork, at 3 half pence *per pound*, - - - - -	02	10	00
24 pound of Butter, at 4 *d. per pound*,	00	08	00
One Barrel of salted Fish, - -	00	10	00
One Barrel of Malassas to make Beer,	01	08	00
40 Bushels of Indian Corn, at 1 *s.* 8 *d. per Bushel*, - - - - -	03	06	08
20 Bushels of Rye, at 2 *s. per Bushel*,	02	00	00
20 Bushels of Wheat, at 3 *s. per Bushel*,	03	00	00
6 Bushels of Pease and Indian Beans, at 3 *s. per Bushel*, - - - -	00	18	00
2 Bushels of Salt, at 2 *s. per Bushel*, -	00	04	00
50 pound of Cheese of the Country-making, at 3 *d. per pound*, - - -	00	12	06
12 pound of Candles, at 5 *d. per pound*,	00	05	00
In Sugar, Spice, and other things, -	00	17	10
In All - -	50	00	00

Note, That the above-mentioned Prices is for goods at first cost in England, which in Country Money

would be something above one third higher, *viz.* a Cow and Calf valued in goods at first cost at 3 d. is worth in Country Money 5 l. and other things advance much after the same proportion.

My five thousand Acres of Land cost me 100 l. I had of the ten Families for the one thousand Acres disposed of to them 50 l. my Town or City Lots will yield me currant 50 l. by which it appears I am nothing out on the four thousand Acres that is left.

I get my five thousand Acres surveyed and laid out to me, out of which I lay out for the ten Families one thousand Acres, which may be so divided, as that each family may live near one to the other; I indent with them to let the Money lie in their hands six years, for which they to pay me each family, 8 l. a year, in consideration of the one hundred pound a family laid out for them, and at the expiration of the six years, they to pay me my 1000 l. viz. each family 100 l. as by agreement; my Money being paid me, I am unwilling to let it lie dead, therefore I lay out in the middle of my Land one thousand Acres, which I divide into ten lots, in form and manner as before, then I indent, with fifty servants to serve me four years a piece, I place them on the Land, *viz.* five on each lot. Their Passage, and in goods to purchase Cattel and Provisions, &c. is to each five servants 100 l. as before is explained; Now I order a House to be built, and Orchards, Gardens and Inclosures to be

made, and Husbandry affairs to be carried on on each lot; so that at the four years end, as the servants time is expired, I shall have ten Farms, each containing four hundred Acres; for the one thousand Acres being laid out in the middle of my Land, the remaining three thousand Acres joyns to it.

My servants time being expired, I am willing to see what charge I am out upon these ten Farms and Stock, in order to know what I have gain'd in the ten years past, over and above 8 *l. per Cent. Interest*, that is allowed me for the use of my Money: I am out by the first charge 1000 l. & the Interest thereof for four years, at 8 *l. per Cent.* is for the four years 320 l. so that the whole charge on the ten Farms, Principal & Interest, comes to 1320 l. Now if I value my ten Farms but at 400 l. each, which is 20 *s. per Acre*, one with another; then the whole will be 4000 l. besides the first Stock of Cattel and Hogs, &c. to each Plantation, with its Increase for four years, which Stock cost at first to each Farm 30 l. in goods at first cost, but is worth 40 l. sterling, at which rate the Stock on the ten Farms cost 400 l. and if we account the four years Increase to be no more than the first Stock, yet that is 400 l. by which it appears that the ten Farms, and the stock on them is worth 4800 l. out of which deduct the Money laid out, which with Interest is 1320 l. So that the Neat profit, besides 8 l. *per Cent.* allowed for Interest, is for this ten years improvement, 3480 l. and twenty Families set at liberty from that extream

Slavery that attended them, by reason of great Poverty that they endured in *England*, and must have so continued, had not they been thus redeemed by coming into *America*. It may be thought that this is too great an undertaking for one man, which if it be, then I propose that ten joyn together in this community, and each man send over five Servants, of which let one of them be an honest man that understands Country business, as an Overseer, which if we allow him over and above his Passage and Diet 20 l. a year for his four years service, this amounts to 80 l. which is for the ten farms 800 l. which being deducted out of the 3480 l. there only remains 2680 l. clear profit to the ten men, which is for each man 268 l. for his ten years improvement of his 100 l. and his 100 l. back again with Interest for all the time at 8 l. *per Cent. per annum*, the whole producing 448 l. for his 100 l. first laid out.

Some may object, and say, *They cannot believe the Land of each farm, with its Improvements, will sell at* 20 s. *an Acre, that is, at twelve years purchase* is 1 s. 8 d. per Acre per annum. *because three hundred Acres of it is as it was*, viz. *Rough Woods.*

I *Answer;* That although it be so, yet these Woods are made valuable by the twenty Families that are seated near them, the first ten families having been settled ten years, the last four years; for some are willing to have their children live near them; and they having but one hundred Acres in all, it will not be well to divide that, therefore they will give a good

price for one hundred Acres, to settle a Child upon, to live by them, as experience sheweth; for in *Rhode-Island*, which is not far from us, Land rough in the Woods, not better than ours, will sell at 40 s. an Acre, which is 3 *s.* 4 *d. per Acre per annum.* Therefore, Reader, I hope now thou art convinced that there is a probability that what I here inform thee of, will prove true, causalties of Fire, &c. excepted.

The *Indians* are but few in Number, and have been very serviceable to us by selling us Venison, *Indian* Corn, Pease and Beans, Fish and Fowl, *Buck* Skins, *Beaver*, *Otter*, and other Skins and Furs; the Men hunt, Fish and Fowl, and the Women plant the Corn, and carry Burthens; they are many of them of a good Understanding, considering their education; and in their publick meetings of Business, they have excellent Order, one speaking after another, and while one is speaking all the rest keep silent, and do not so much as whisper one to the other: We had several Meetings with them, one was in order to put down the sale of *Rum*, *Brandy*, and other strong Liquors to them, they being a People that have not Government of themselves, so as to drink it in moderation; at which time there were eight Kings, (& many other *Indians*) one of them was *Ockanickon*, whose dying Words I writ from his Mouth, which you shall have in its order.

The *Indian* Kings sate on a Form, and we sate on another over against them; they had prepared four

Belts of *Wampum*, (See note No. 17) (so their current Money is called, being Black and White *Beads* made of a Fish Shell) to give us as Seals of the Covenant they made with us; one of the Kings by the consent and appointment of the rest stood up and made this following Speech; *The strong Liquors was first sold us by the* Dutch, *and they were blind, they had no Eyes, they did not see that it was for our hurt; and the next People that came amongst us, were the* Sweeds, *who continued the sale of those strong Liquors to us: they were also Blind, they had no Eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to us to drink it, although we know it to be hurtful to us; but if People will sell it us, we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear it; when we drink it, it makes us mad; we do not know what we do, we then abuse one another; we throw each other into the Fire, seven Score of our People have been killed, by reason of the drinking of it, since the time it was first sold us: Those People that sell it, they are blind, they have no Eyes, but now there is a People come to live amongst us, that have Eyes, they see it to be for our Hurt, and we know it to be for our Hurt: They are willing to deny themselves of the Profit of it if for our good; these People have Eyes; we are glad such a People are come amongst us. We must put it down by mutual consent; the Cask must be sealed up, it must be made fast, it must not leak by Day nor by Night, in the Light, nor in the Dark, and we give you these four Belts of* Wampam, *which we would have you lay up safe, and keep by you to be Witness of this Agree-*

ment that we make with you, and we would have you tell your Children, that these four Belts of Wampam *are given you to be Witness betwixt us and you of this Agreement.*

A Letter from New-Jersey *in* America *to a Friend in* London.

Dear Friend;

I Having this short oppertunity, have nothing to present thee with, but the Dying-Words of an *Indian* King, who died in *Burlington*, and was buried amongst Friends according to his desire; and at his Burial many Tears were shed both by the *Indians* and *English;* so in Love, and great haste, I rest thy Friend,

John Cripps. (See note No. 18).

The Dying-Words of Ockanichon, *spoken to* Jachkursoe, *whom he appointed King after him, spoken in the Presence of several, who were Eye and Ear Witnesses of the Truth thereof.*

IT was my desire, that my Brother's Son, *Jahkursoe* should be sent for to come to hear my last Words, whom I have appointed King after me. My Brother's Son, this day I deliver my Heart into thy Bosom, and would have thee love that which is Good and to keep good Company, and to refuse that which is Evil; and

to avoid bad Company. Now inasmuch as I have delivered my Heart into thy Bosom I also deliver my Bosom to keep my Heart therein; therefore alwayes be sure to walk in a good Path, and never depart out of it. And if any Indians should speak any evil of *Indians* or *Christians*, do not joyn with it, but to look to that which is Good, and to joyn with the same alwayes. Look at the Sun from the Rising of it to the Setting of the same. In Speeches that shall be made between the *Indians* and *Christians*, if any thing be spoke that is evil, do not joyn with that, but joyn with that which is good; and when Speeches are made, do not thou speak first, but let all speak before thee, and take good notice what each man speaks, and when thou hast heard all, joyn to that which is good. Brother's Son, I would have thee to cleanse thy Ears, and take all Darkness and Foulness out, that thou mayst take notice of that which is Good and Evil, and then to joyn with that which is Good, and refuse the Evil; and also to cleanse thy Eyes, that thou mayest see both Good and Evil; and if thou see any Evil, do not joyn with it, but joyn to that which is Good. Brother's Son, Thou has heard all that is past; now I would have thee to stand up in time of *Speeches*, and to stand in my *Steps*, and follow my *Speeches* as I have said before thee, then what thou dost desire in Reason will be granted thee. Why shouldst thou not follow my Example, inasmuch as I have had a mind to do that

which is Good, and therefore do thou also the same? Whereas *Sehoppy* and *Swanpis* were appointed Kings by me in my stead, and I understanding by my Doctor, that *Sehoppy* secretly advised him not to cure me, and they both being with me at *John Hollinshead's* House, there I my self see by them that they were given more to *Drink*, than to take notice of my *last Words*, for I had a mind to make a Speech to them, and to my Brethren the *English Commissioners*, therefore I refused them to be Kings after me in my stead, and have chosen my Brother's Son *Iahkurosoe* in their stead to succeed me.

Brother's Son, I desire thee to be plain and fair with all, both *Indians* and *Christians*, as I have been. I am very weak, otherwise I would have spoken more; and in Testimony of the Truth of this, I have hereunto set my Hand.

The mark ⚷ of *Ockanickon*, King, now deceased.

Henry Jacob Falekinbery, Intrepreter.

Friendly Reader, when *Ockanickon* had given his Brothers Son this good Counsel, I thought meet to speak unto him as followeth; *There is a great God, who created all things, and this God giveth Man an understanding of what is Good, and what is Bad, and after th Life rewardeth the Good with Blessings, and the Bad according to their Doings;* to which he answered and said, *It is very true, it is so, there are two Wayes, a broad Way, and a strait Way; there be two Paths, a broad*

Path and a strait Path; the worst, and *the greatest Number go in the broad Path, the best and fewest go in the strait Path.* T. B.

Something in Relation to a Conference had with the Indians *at* Burlington, *shortly after we came into the Country.*

THe *Indians* told us, they were advised to make War on us, and cut us off whilst we were but few, and said, They were told, that we sold them the *Small-Pox*, with the Mach Coat they had bought of us, which caused our People to be in Fears and Jealousies concerning them; therefore we sent for the *Indian* Kings, to speak with them, who with many more *Indians*, came to *Burlington*, where we had Conference with them about the matter, therefore told them, That we came amongst them by their own consent, and had bought the Land of them, for which we had honestly paid them for, and for what Commodities we had bought at any time of them, we had paid them for, and had been just to them, and had been from the time of our first coming very kind and respectful to them, therefore we knew no Reason that they had to make War on us; to which one of them, in the behalf of the rest, made this following Speech in answer, saying, 'Our Young Men may speak such 'Words as we do not like, nor approve of, and we can-

'not help that: And some of your Young Men may 'speak such Words as you do not like, and you cannot 'help that. We are your Brothers, and intend to live 'like Brothers with you: We have no mind to have 'War, for when we have War, we are only Skin and 'Bones; the Meat that we eat doth not do us good, 'we alwayes are in fear, we have not the benefit of 'the Sun to shine on us, we hide us in Holes and 'Corners; we are minded to live at Peace: If we 'intend at any time to make War upon you, we will 'let you know of it, and the Reasons why we make 'War with you; and if you make us satisfaction for 'the Injury done us, for which the War is intended, 'then we will not make War on you. And if you 'intend at any time to make War on us, we would 'have you let us know of it, and the Reasons for which 'you make War on us, and then if we do not make 'satisfaction for the Injury done unto you, then you 'may make War on us, otherwise you ought not to do 'it. You are our Brothers, and we are willing to live 'like Brothers with you: We are willing to have a '*broad Path* for you and us to walk in, and if an *Indian* 'is asleep in this *Path*, the *English*-man shall pass him 'by, and do him no harm; and if an *English*-man is 'asleep in this *path*, the *Indian* shall pass him by, and 'say, *He is an English-man he is asleep, let him alone, 'he loves to Sleep.* It shall be a *plain Path*, there must 'not be in this *path* a *stump* to hurt our *feet.* And as

'to the *Small-Pox*, it was once in my *Grandfathers* 'time, and it could not be the *English* that could send 'it us then, there being no *English* in the Country, and 'it was once in my *Fathers* time, they could not send it 'us then neither; and now it is in my time, I do not 'believe that they have sent it us now: I do believe it 'is the Man above that hath sent it us.

Some are apt to ask, How we can propose safely to live amongst such a Heathen People as the Indians, whose Principles and Practices leads them to War and Bloodshed, and our Principles and Practices leading us to love Enemies, and if reviled, not to revile again; and if smitten on the one cheek to turn the other, and we being a peaceable People, whose Principles and Practices are against Wars and Fightings?

I *Answer:* That we settled by the Indians consent and good liking, and bought the Land of them, that we settle on, which they conveyed to us by Deed under their Hands and Seals, and also submitted to several Articles of agreement with us, viz. **Not to do us any Injury;** but if it should so happen, that any of their People at any time should injure or do harm to any of us, then they to make us satisfaction for the Injury done; therefore if they break these Covenants and Agreements, then they may be proceeded against as other Offendors, *viz.* to be kept in subjection to the Magistrates Power, in whose hand the Sword of Justice is committed to be used by him, for the punish-

ment of Evil-doers, and praise of them that do well; therefore I do believe it to be both lawful and expedient to bring Offendors to Justice by the power of the Magistrates Sword, which is not to be used in vain, but may be used against such as raise Rebellions and Insurrections against the Government of the Country, be they *Indians* or others, otherwise it is in vain for us to pretend to Magistracy or Government, it being that which we own to be lawful both in Principle and Practice.

Q. Whether there be not Bears, Wolves, and other Ravenous Beasts in the Country?

I *Answer:* Yes. But I have travell'd alone in the Country some hundreds of Miles, and by missing of my way have lain in the Woods all night, and yet I never saw any of those Creatures, nor have I heard that ever man, woman or child were hurt by them, they being afraid of Mankind; also, encouragement is given to both *Indians* and others to kill Wolves, they being paid for every Wolfs head that they bring to the Magistrate, the value of ten Shillings; and the Bears the *Indians* kill for the profit of their Skins, and sake of their Flesh, which they eat, and esteem better than Deers flesh.

Q. Whether there be not Snakes, more especially the Rattle-Snake?

Ans. Yes, but not many Rattle-Snakes, and they are easily discovered; for they commonly lie in the

Paths for the benefit of the Sun, & if any Person draws nigh them, they shake their Tail, on which the Rattles grow, which make a noise like a childs Rattle; I never heard of but one Person bitten in *Pennsilvania* or *New-Jersey* with the Rattle-Snake, and he was helpt of it by live Chickens slit assunder and apply'd to the place, which drew out the Poyson; and as to the other Snake, the most plentiful is a black Snake, its bite, 'tis said, does no more harm than the prick of a Pin.

I have mentioned before, that there are a sort of troublesom Flies call'd *Musketoes* (much like the Gnats in *England*) in the lower parts of the Country, where the great Marshes are, but in the upper parts of the Country seldom one is seen.

There are Crows and Black birds, which may be accounted amongst the inconveniences, they being destructive to the *Indian Corn*, the Crows by picking up the Corn just as its appearing in the blade above ground, and the Black-birds by eating it in the Year, before it be full hard, if not prevented by looking after; but other sorts of Corn they seldom hurt.

It is rational to believe, that all considerate Persons will sit down and count the cost before they begin to build; for they must expect to pass through a Winter before a Summer, but not so troublesom a Winter as many have imagined; for those that come there to settle now, may purchase Corn, Cattel, and other

things at the prices mentioned, and many have Houses in some of the Towns of *Pennsilvania* and *New-Jersey* on Rent, until they build for themselves, and Water-Mills to grind their Corn, which are such Conveniences that we that went first partly missed of.

Thus, Kind Reader, I *have given thee a true Description of* Pennsilvania *and* New-Jersey, *with the* Rivers *and* Springs, Fish *and* Fowle, Beasts, Fruits, Plants, Corn *and* Commodities *that it doth or may produce, with several other things needful for thee to know, as well* Inconveniences *as* Conveniences, *by which* I keep *clear of that just Reflection of such as are more apt to see faults in others, than to amend them in themselves.*

T. B.

WHereas I unavisedly published in Print a *Paper* (see note No. 19), dated the 13th of *July*, 1685. entituled, A *true and perfect Account of the disposal of the one hundred Shares or Proprieties of the Province of West* New-Jersey, *by* Edward Bylling: In which *Paper* I gave an Account of the purchasers Names, and the several Proprieties granted to them, part of which I took from the Register, the remainder from a List given in by *Edward Bylling*, to the Proprioters, as mentioned on the said *Paper*, which *Paper* I find hath proved Injurious to the aforesaid *Edward Bylling*, although not so intended by me. Therefore in order

to give him Satisfaction, and all others that are concerned, I do acknowledge he hath, since the publishing of that *Paper*, shewed me some Deeds, wherein he hath several Proprieties conveyed back to him again, from the original Purchasers and Judge, he may make good Titles to the same.

A *Letter by* Thomas Budd, *sent to his Friends in* Pennsilvania *and* New-Jersey.

Dear Friends;

YOu are often in my Remembrance, and at this time I feel the tender Bowels of our heavenly Father's Love flowing in my Heart towards you, in a sence of those great Exercises that many of you have, do and may meet withal in your *Spiritual Travel* towards the *Land of Promise.*

I am also sensible of the many *Exercises* and inward *Combats* that many of you met withal, after you felt an inclination in your Hearts of Transplanting your selves into *America:* Oh the *Breathings* and fervent *Prayers*, and earnest *Desires* that were in your Hearts to the Lord, *That you might not go except it was his good Pleasure to remove you, for a purpose of his own:* This you earnestly desired to be satisfied in, and many of you received satisfaction, that it was your places to

leave your Native Country, Trades, and near and dear Relations and Friends to transplant your selves into a Wilderness, where you expected to meet with many Tryals and Exercises of a differing kind, than what you had met withal in your Native Country; but this you contentedly gave up to, but not without earnest desire, and fervent Prayers to the Lord for his Wisdom to govern you, and his Fatherly Care to preserve you, and his comfortable presence to be with you, to strengthen and enable you chearfuly to undergo those new and unaccustomed Tryals and Exercises, that you were sensible would attend you in this weighty undertaking, the Lord heard your Prayers, and answered your Desires, inasmuch as that his Fatherly Care was over you, and his living Presence did accompany you over the great Deep; so that you saw his wonderful Deliverence, and in a sence thereof, you praised his Name for the same.

The Lord having thus far answered our Souls desire, as to bring us to our desired Port in safety, and to remain with us, to be a Counsellor of good things unto us, let us now answer this Kindness unto us by a *righteous Conversation*, and a *pure, holy* and *innocent Life*, that others beholding the same, may be convinced thereby, and may glorifie our heavenly Father.

The Eyes of many are on us, some for Good, and some for Evil; therefore my earnest Prayers are to the Lord, That he would preserve us, and give us *Wis-*

dom, that we may be governed aright before him, and that he would give a good Understanding to those that are in Authority amongst us, that his Law may go forth of *Sion*, and his Word from *Jerusalem:* Be not backward in discharging that great Trust committed to you in your respective Offices and Places, that you may be help-meets in the Restoration.

And be careful to suppress, and keep down all Vice, and disorderly Spirits, and incourage Virtue, not only in the general, but every one in his perticular Family; there is an incumbant Duty lieth on all Masters of Families over their Family, therefore my desire is, that we may call our Families together at convenient times and Seasons, to wait upon the Lord, and to seek to him for *Wisdom* and *Counsel*, that his Blessings may attend us and our Families, and our Children may sit about our Table as Olive-branches full of Virtue, then shall we be full of Joy and Peace, and living Praises will spring to the Lord, in that his Blessings and Fatherly Care hath been thus continued towards us.

Dear Friends; be tender and helpful one towards another, that the Lord may bless and fill you with his divine Love, and sweet refreshing Life, which unities our Souls to each other, and makes us as one Family of Love together: Let us not entertain any hard Thoughts one of another, but if difference should happen amongst us, let a speedy and peaceable end be put unto it; for if Prejudices enter, it will eat out the

precious Life, and make us barren and unfruitful to God. We are not without our daily Exercises, Travels and Temptations, therefore do desire the Lord may put it into your Hearts, to Pray for our Preservation, and our safe return to you, that we may meet together again in the same overcoming Love of God, in which we parted from you.

My Heart is full of Love to you, and do long to see your Faces, and to enjoy your Company, that I may more fully express that pure Love of God that springs in my Heart unto you, then I can do by Writing. Therefore I desire you may rest satisfied with these few Lines, and receive them as a token of unfeigned Love. From

Your dear Friend,

Thomas Budd.

London, the 29th of the 8th Month, 1684.

Some material Things omitted in the foregoing part.

IT is to be noted, that the Tide runs to the Falls of *Delaware*, it being one hundred and fifty Miles from the Capes, or entrance of the said River (which Falls, is a ledge of Rocks lying a cross the River) and also it runs up in some of the Cricks, ten or fifteen Miles, the said River and Cricks being navigable for

Ships of great Burthen, there having lain over against *Burlington*, a Ship of about the burthen of four hundred Tuns afloat in four Fathom, at dead low Water, and the Flood riseth six or eight Foot; and there being no Worm that eats the bottoms of the Ships, as is usually done in *Virginia* and *Barbadoes*, &c. which renders the said Countries very fit for Trade and Navigation; And in the said River and Cricks are many other sorts of good *Fish*, not already named, some of which are *Cat-fish*, *Trout*, *Eales*, *Pearch*, &c.

FINIS.

NOTES.

Note 1, *page* 27.

Budd's treatise was, perhaps, the most thorough attempt that had as yet been made, to call the attention of his countrymen to the advantages of a settlement in the then almost wilderness region of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the writer, it will be found, brought to the undertaking, a liberal and enlightened spirit, no small share of knowledge and sagacity, and the experience of many years' residence in the new country.

Note 2, *page* 27.

Our author, so far as relates toNew Jersey, refers to Item 7 of the Concession and Agreement, of 1664, of Berkeley and Carteret. "That no person qualified as aforesaid (that is either a subject of the king of England, or who shall become such) within the said province, at any time, shall be any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernments, who does not actually disturb the civil peace of the said province; but that all and every such person and persons, may from time to time and at all times, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgment and consciences, in matters of religion throughout the said province, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others; any law statute or clause contained or to be contained, usage or custom of this realm of England to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding."

The language of the xvi chapter "of the Charter or fundamental laws of West New Jersey, agreed upon" in 1676, is still more emphatic and comprehensive, and breathes the spirit of men who had suffered for conscience sake.

"That no men, *nor number of men upon earth*, hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters; therefore it is consented, agreed and ordained that no person or persons whatsoever, within

the said province, at any time or times hereafter, shall be any ways, upon any pretense whatsoever, called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, either in person estate or privilege, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith or worship towards God in matters of religion; but that all and every such person and persons, may from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments, and the exercise of their consciences, in matters of religious worship throughout all the said province."— Smith's *History of New Jersey*, 513, 529.

Also see the 10th article of the proposals agreed upon the 9th Nov., 1681, by Gov. Jenings and the Assembly. *Id.*, 128.

The same principles are asserted in the Laws agreed upon in England, on the 5th May, 1682, between Penn and the future freemen of his Province.

Law 35th. "That all persons living in this province who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God, to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever."

Note 3, *page* 29.

Our author's account shows less change in the temperature of the region he describes, than is generally attributed to it.

For a description equally interesting and instructive, see Surveyor Colden's narrative of the temperature and climate of the same territory, written in 1723.—*Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, edited by Dr. O'Callaghan, V, 690.

The reader is also referred to the statements of Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Gawen Lawrie and others, in Smith's *New Jersey*, 167 to 189.

Note 4, *page* 29.

"When the Yorkshire commissioners found the others were like to settle at such a distance, they told them if they would agree to fix by them, they would join in settling a town and that they should have the largest share, on consideration that they (the Yorkshire commissioners) had the best land in the woods: Being few, and the Indians numerous, they agreed to it.

"The commissioners employed Noble, a surveyor, who came in the first ship, to divide the spot. After the main street was ascertained, he divided the land on each side into lots; the easternmost among the Yorkshire proprietors, the other among the Londoners: To begin a settlement ten lots, of nine acres each, bounding on the west were laid out; that done some passengers from Wickaco, chiefly those concerned in the Yorkshire tenth, arrived the latter end of October. The London commissioners employed Noble to divide the part of the island yet unsurveyed, between the ten London proprietors, in the manner before mentioned: The town thus by mutual consent laid out, the commissioners gave it the name first of New Beverley, then Bridlington, but soon changed it to Burlington."— Smith's *History of New Jersey*, 98, 104.

Beverley was a town in Yorkshire, England, as was Burlington. The latter is styled "Burlington *or* Bridlington," a seaport town of England in the East Riding of Yorkshire, situated on a bay called Burlington Bay, formed by Flamborough Head, which is about 5 miles distant, nearly N. E. Considerable trade is carried on here; and that part of it called Burlington Quay, which is built on the coast, a mile from the town, is much resorted to for sea-bathing. The remains of Burlington Church, founded in the reign of Henry I, prove that it must have been a very fine structure. A weekly market is held here, and two annual fairs. Pop. 5637. 20 miles from Scarborough."— Thomson's *New Universal Gazetteer*, Lond., 1837.

"Mr. William Hustler, grandfather to Sir William, was a great benefactor to it. The key which is chiefly frequented by colliers and inhabited by sea-faring people, lies near two miles from the town, which is about 5 furlongs length and gives title of Earl to the noble family of Boyle. Here was formerly a priory."—England's *Gazetteer*, London, 1751.

Note 5, *page* 29.

De Vries, in his voyage of 1633, says: "The Bay inside of Sandy Hook is a large one, where fifty to sixty ships can lie, well protected from the winds of the sea. Sandy Hook stretches a full half-mile from the hills, forming a flat, sandy beach, about eight or nine paces wide, and is covered with small blue plum trees, which there grow wild." The same sort of fruit is found there, it is said, at this day.— *Voyages from Holland to America*, A. D. 1632 to 1644. By David Petersen De Vries. Translated from the Dutch by Mr. Henry C. Murphy, New York, 1853 p. 63, and privately printed by Mr. James Lenox.

De Vries's admirable narrative, and for which, in its English version, all are so much indebted to Mr. Murphy, who has faithfully preserved the spirit of the original, we have never found in fault. The truthfulness, courage, good sense, self reliance and resources of De Vries render the statement of his adventures invaluable to the historical student, a value greatly enhanced from the fact, that he is the only author who speaks of many matters connected with the early history and topography of the Delaware.

Note 6, *page* 30.

See a historical sketch of New Perth in Whitehead's *Contributions to the History of East Jersey*.

Note 7, *page* 30.

The date of the Dutch settlement at *Minesink, Minisincks or Meenesink*, is involved in doubt, and is one of the most interesting problems connected with the history of Pennsylvania. We shall not even venture a conjecture upon the subject. The occupation extended from the beginning of the flats at the northern base of the Blue Mountains, along both sides of the Delaware; and a very interesting account of it may be found in a communication addressed in 1828 to Mr. Samuel Hazard, the editor of the Register, by Samuel Preston, of Stockport, Wayne County, Penna.

In 1787 Preston, who was deputy under John Lukens, surveyor general, received from the latter the facts, which form the subject of this narrative. It appears that the first information of the settlement did not reach the Provincial Government until about 1729, for in that year, it passed a law that all purchases made of the Indians in that region should be void. In 1730 "Nicholas Scull, the famous surveyor, was appointed an agent to investigate the facts," who took with him, as an assistant, John Lukens; and hiring Indian guides, they had a fatiguing journey, there then being no white inhabitants in the upper part of Bucks or Northampton counties, and after great difficulty in leading their horses through the Water Gap to *Meenesink Flats*, they arrived at that place, and found it "all settled with *Hollanders*." The "remarkable Samuel Depui told them that when the rivers were frozen he had a good road to *Esopus* from the *Mine Holes*, on the *Mine* road, some hundred miles, that he took his wheat and cider there, for salt and necessaries, and did not appear to have any knowledge or idea where the river ran, of the Philadelphia market, or of being in the government of Pennsylvania."

"They were of the opinion that the first settlements of Hollanders, in Meenisink, were many years older than William Penn's charter (in 1681) and as Depui had treated them so well they concluded to make a survey of his claim in order to befriend him if necessary. When they began to survey, the Indians gathered round; and an old Indian laid his hand on N. Scull's shoulder and said '*put up iron string, go home.*' That they quit and returned." This closed the statement of facts as derived from Lukens.

The following is Preston's narrative:

"I had it in charge from John Lukens to learn more particulars respecting the Mine road to Esopus, &c., &c.

"I found Nicholas Depui, Esq. (son of Samuel), living in a spacious stone house, in great plenty and affluence. The old Mine holes were a few miles above on the Jersey side the river, by the lower point of *Paaquarry Flat*, that the Meene-sink settlement extended 40 miles or more, on both sides the river. That he had well known the *Mine road* to *Esopus*, and used, before he opened the boat channel, to drive on it several times every winter with loads of wheat and cider, as also did his neighbors, to purchase their salt and necessaries in Esopus, having then no other market or knowledge where the river ran to; that after a navigable channel was opened, through *Foul Rifts*, they generally took to boating, and most of the settlement turned their trade down stream and the mine road became less and less traveled.

"This interview with the amiable Nicholas Depui, Esq., was in the month of June, 1787; he then appeard to be perhaps about 60 years of age. I interrogated him as to the particulars of what he knew, as to when and by whom the *Mine* road was made, what was the ore they dug and hauled on it, what was the date and from whence or how came the first settlers of *Meene-sink* in such great numbers as to take up all the flats on both sides the river for 40 miles.

"He could only give traditional accounts of what he had heard from older people without date, in substance as follows:

"That in some former age there came a company of miners from *Holland*, supposed from the great labor that had been expended in making that road about 100 miles long, that they were very rich or great people in working the two mines, one on Delaware, where the mountain nearly approaches the lower point of *Paaquarry* flat, the other at the north foot of some mountain near half way between Delaware and Esopus, that he ever understood abundance of ore had been hauled on that road, but never could learn whether it was lead or silver.

"That the first settlers came from Holland to seek a place of quiet, being persecuted for their religion. I believe that they were Arminians, they

followed the mine road to the large flats on Delaware, that smoothed cleared land, and such an abundance of large apple trees suited their views, that they bona fide bought the improvements of the native Indians, most of whom then removed to Susquehanna, that with such as remained there was peace and friendship until the year 1755. I then went to view the Paaquarry Mine holes, there appeared to have been a great abundance of labor done there at some former time, but the mouth of these holes were caved full and overgrown with bushes. I concluded to myself if there ever had been a rich mine under that mountain, it must be there yet in close confinement.

"The other old men I conversed with gave their traditions similar to Nicholas Depui, and they all appeared to be the grandsons of the first settlers and generally very illiterate as to dates or anything relating to chronology.

"In the summer of 1789 I began to build on this place, when there came two venerable gentlemen, on a surveying expedition; they were the late General James Clinton, the father of the late De Witt Clinton, and Christopher Tappan, Esq.; he was the clerk and recorder of Ulster county; for many years before they had both been surveyors under General Clinton's father, when he was surveyor general. In order to learn some history from gentlemen of their general knowledge, I accompanied them in the woods; they both well knew the *mine holes*, *mine roads*, and as there were no kind of documents or records thereof, united in opinion, that it was a work transacted while the state of New York belonged to the government of Holland, that it fell to the English in the year 1664, and that the change of government stopped the mining business and that the road must have been made many years before such digging could be done, that it must undoubtedly have been the first good road of any extent ever made in any part of the United States. That from the best evidence that I have been able to obtain, I am clearly of opinion that Meenesink was the oldest European settlement of equal extent ever made in the territory afterwards named Pennsylvania. And these enterprising Arminians and followers of Hugo De Grotius, by their just and pacific conduct to the natives, so as to maintain peace and friendship with them for perhaps one hundred years, have left a traditional memorial of their virtue that time ought not to obliterate."

It seems the best interpretation Scull could make of the word *Meenesink*, was "*the water is gone*," and Mr. Preston offers the following theory: "From every appearance of so much alluvial or made land, above the mountain, there must, in some former period of the world, have been a great dam against the mountain, that formed all the settlement named Meenesink into

a lake, which extended and backed the water at least 50 miles, as appears by the alluvial or made land. What height the dam was, is quite uncertain; had it been as high or half as high as the mountain, the water would have run into the North river, at or near the old mine road or Hudson and Delaware canal. From the water made land, and distance that it appears to have backed over the falls in the river, the height must, at a moderate calculation, have been between 150 and 200 feet — which would have formed a cataract in proportion to the quantity of water similar to Niagara.

"By what convulsion of nature, or in what age of the world, can never be known; but, in my opinion, from every observation that I have been able to make, in so frequently passing through the Gap by water and land, it appears that the dam must have been sunk into some tremendous subterraneous cavern, and to a depth that cannot be known or estimated. * * The distance through the mountain is called two miles, and say, the river will average near half a mile wide, the water as still as a mill pond; so that a raft will float either up or down as the wind blows. As to the depth of the water, I have been told by old men, that formerly they could not find any bottom by sounding with the longest ropes or cords they could obtain.

"Nicholas Scull was esteemed a first rate man of his day as to science and general knowledge. Ninety-eight years ago he was on Depuis' Island, and from the vast size of a hollow buttonwood and apple tree he concluded that the water must have been gone one thousand years or more, for trees to have grown to such an uncommon size." After some further speculations on the subject Mr. Preston naively adds, "if any person thinks my hypothesis erroneous, the *Water Gap will not run away*. They may go and examine for themselves," and we know no spot better deserving scientific explorations.—*Hazard's Register*, I, 428, 439, 440.

The discrepance between Depuis's alleged ignorance of the existence of Philadelphia or where the river ran, and the statement in the text, will present itself to the reader. We are unable to offer any explanation.

The year 1615 is the alleged date of the settlement of Esopus by the Hollanders (*Answer of Dutch to English Manifesto, Doc. Rel. Col. History of New York*, edited by Dr. O'Callaghan's, II, 325; O'Callaghan's *New Neth.*, I, 390), and it is probable that the settlers at Meenesink must have found their way there from the former place. Our author does not allude to the existence of copper mines, but so early as 1659 the directors of the Dutch West India Company say "we lately saw a small piece of mineral, said to have been brought from New Netherland, which was such good and pure copper that we deemed it worth enquiry of one Kloes de Ruyter about it, as

we presume he must know, if the fact is as stated." He asserted that there was a copper mine at Menesink.—*Hazard's Annals*, 255, and *Doc. Rel. Col. History of New York* II, 633. This was, it is likely, from the mine at Paaquarry flat, the present *Pahaquarry*, in the northeast corner of Warren county, New Jersey. Any discovery of copper must have been made between the years 1641 and 1649, for, in a *Journal of New Netherland* begun in the former year (*Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, I, 180), it is stated that in the interior are pretty high mountains, exhibiting generally pretty strong indications of minerals, and in a document dated 1649 (*Id.*, 262), fully an hundred different samples of minerals are said to have been lost on their way to Holland.

In 1715 Governor Hunter of New York, in his letter to the Lords of Trade referred to a copper mine in New York, "brought to perfection, of which in one month a ton of ore had been sent to England;" but he does not state its location—*Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, V, 462. The same authority states that in 1720 "there was iron enough, that copper was rarer, lead at a great distance in the Indian settlement, and coal mines on *Long Island*, but not yet wrought," and in 1721 "a great quantity of iron ore was stated to exist in New Jersey, and some copper."—*Id.*, 556, 603.

Note 8, *page* 31.

Our knowledge of the first attempt at establishing a whale fishery upon the Delaware is derived from the account contained in the narrative of that most minute, truthful and graphic of all voyagers, David Pietersz. de Vries, to which we have before referred. This navigator, with whom was associated eight others, formed themselves into a patroonship, and "at the same time equipped a ship with a yacht for the purpose of prosecuting the voyage, as well as to carry on the whale fishery in that region, as to plant a colony for the cultivation of all sorts of grain, for which the country is very well adapted, and of tobacco. This ship, with the yacht, sailed from the Texel, the 12th of December, 1630, with a number of people and a large stock of cattle, to settle our colony upon the South river,[1] which lies on the 38th and half degree, and to conduct the whale fishery there, as Godyn represented that there were many whales which kept before the bay, and the oil at sixty guilders a hogshead he thought would realize a good profit, and consequently that fine country be cultivated." This attempt was unsuccessful; the captain on his return to Holland reporting that they had arrived too late in the season for their purpose. "It was therefor again resolved to undertake a voyage for the whale fishery, and that I myself (De Vries) should go as patroon, and as commander of the ship and yacht and should endeavor to be there in December, in order to

[1] The Delaware.

conduct the whale fishery during the winter, as the whales come in the winter and remain till March." De Vries accordingly sailed and found, on his arrival at Swanendael, that the little colony had been murdered by the Indians; not a soul was left to tell the tale, and its particulars and the cause which led to the sad event were ascertained from the natives themselves. Our navigator allowed his people to prosecute their undertaking at Swanendael, while he sailed up the river. On his return he found seven whales had been caught, "but there were only thirty-two cartels of oil obtained, so that the whale fishery is very expensive when such meagre fish are caught. We could have done more if we had had good harpooners, for they had struck seventeen fish and only secured seven, which was astonishing. They had always struck the whales in the tail. I afterwards understood from some Basques, who were old whale fishers, that they always struck the harpoon in the fore part of the back. This voyage was an expensive one to us, but not so much, since I had laid in a good cargo of salt in the West Indies, which brought a good price. Having put our oil in the ship, taken down our kettle and hauled in wood and water, we got ready to sail."—*De Vries's Voyages*, translated by Mr. Henry C. Murphy, and privately printed by Mr. James Lenox, New York, 1853.—This appears to be the most circumstantial narrative extant of any attempt to prosecute whale fishing, as a commercial enterprise. The trade seems to have continued of some importance, and so late as 1693 was made the subject of an enactment, for in that year a law was passed, in which a preamble set forth that, Whereas, the *whalery* in Delaware Bay has been in so great a measure invaded by strangers and foreigners, that the greatest part of Oyl and Bone recovered and got by that imploy, hath been exported out of the Province to the great detriment thereof, to obviate which mischief *Be it enacted*, &c., that all Persons not residing within the Precincts of this Province, or the Province of Pennsylvania, who shall kill, or bring on shore any whale or whales within Delaware Bay or elsewhere within the Boundaries of this Government shall pay one full entire Tenth of all the Oyl and Bone, made out of the said Whale or Whales unto the present Government of the Province for the Time being.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 519 and 520, Chapter ix of Laws of the Province of West New Jersey.

Note 9, *page* 35.

The cultivation of the grape, especially with reference to the production of wine, very early attracted the attention of the emigrants to America, of which fact some remarkable evidence is upon record. And it is curious to compare the sanguine expectations upon this subject, and upon the raising of silk, with the results of two hundred and fifty years' experience.

Our progenitors, mostly coming from a land where the sun was oftener clouded than unobscured, warmed into enthusiasm under the genial influences of a more southern sky. Their spirits were led captive, and their descriptions, imbued with the language of poetry, held forth to the fortunate adventurer all the good the most fruitful imagination could conceive of what the earth might produce or the air and water contained for the comfort and advantage of the race.

In a curious tract entitled A DECLARATION OF THE STATE OF *the* COLONIE and Affaires in VIRGINIA: WITH the Names of the Adventurors, and Summes adventured in that Action. By his Majesties Counseil for VIRGINIA, 22 Iunij, 1620. LONDON: Printed by T. S., 1620, 8vo, pp. 30 and 39, the advantages are set forth in terms sufficient to allure the most unimaginative aspirant for better fortune. "And first to remove that unworthy aspersion, wherewith ill-disposed mindes, guiding their Actions by corrupt ends, have, both by Letters from thence, and by rumours here at home, sought unjustly to staine and blemish that Countrey, as being barren and unprofitable;—Wee have thought it necessary, for the full satisfaction of all, to make it publikely knowne, that, by diligent examination, wee have assuredly found, those Letters and Rumours to have been false and malicious; procured by practise, and suborned to evill purposes, and contrarily disadvowed by the testimony, upon Oath, of the chiefe Inhabitants of all the Colony; by whom we are ascertained, that the countrey is rich, spacious, and well watered; temperate as for the climate; very healthfull after men are a little accustomed to it; abounding with all God's naturall blessings: The Land replenished with the goodliest Woods in the world, and those full of *Deere*, and other Beasts for sustenance: The Seas and Rivers (whereof many are exceeding faire and navigable) full of excellen tFish, and of all Sorts desireable; both Water and Land yeelding Fowle in very great store and variety; In Summe, a Countrey, too good for ill people; and wee hope reserved by the providence of God, for such as shall apply themselves faithfully to his service, and be a strength and honour to our King and Nation. But touching those Commodities for which that Countrey is proper, and which have beene lately set up for the adventurors benefit: wee referre you to a true note of them latety delivered in a great and generall Court, and hereunto annexed for your better information * * * The riche Furres, Caviary and Cordage, which we draw from Russia with so great difficulty, are to be had in *Virginia*, and the parts adjoyning, with ease and plenty. The Masts, Planckes and Boords, the Pitch and Tarre, the Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, the Hempe and Flax (being the materials of Linnen), which now wee fetch from *Norway*, *Denmarke*, *Poland*, and *Germany*, are there to be had in abundance and great perfection. The *Iron* which hath so wasted our

English Woods, that itself in short time must decay together with them, is to be had in *Virginia* (where wasting of woods is a benefit) for all good conditions answerable to the best in the world. The Wines, Fruits, and Salt of *France* and *Spaine;* The silkes of *Persia* and *Italie*, will be found also in Virginia, and in no Kinde of worth inferior: Wee omit here a multitude of other naturall commodities, dispersed up and downe the divers parts of the world: of Woods, Rootes and Berries, for excellent Dyes: of Plants and all other Druggs, for Physicall service: of sweet Woods, Oyles, and Gummes, for pleasure and other use: of Cotten-Wooll and Sugar-Canes: all which may there also be had in abundance, with an infinity of other more: And will conclude with these three; Corne, Cattle, and Fish, which are the substance of the foode of man. The Graines of our Countrey doe prosper there very well: of Wheate they have great plenty: But their *Maze* being the naturall Graine of that Countrey, doth farre exceede in pleasantnesse, strength and fertility. The Cattle which we have transported thither (being now growne neere to five hundred), become much bigger of Body, than the breed from which they came: The Horses also more beautifull and fuller of courage. And such is the extraordinary fertility of that Soyle, that the *Does* of their *Deere* yeelde two Fawnes at a birth, and sometimes three. The Fishings at *Cape Codd*, being within those Limits, will in plenty of Fish be equall to those of *Newfound Land*, and in goodnesse, and greatnesse, much superiour. To conclude, it is a Countrey, which nothing but ignorance can thinke ill of, and which no man, but of, a corrupt minde and ill purpose can defame."

The importance attached to the production of wine was discussed in a subsequent tract entitled "VIRGINIA: More especially the south part thereof Richly and truly valued, viz: The fertile *Carolana*, and no lesse excellent Isle of *Roanoak*, of Latitude from 31, to 37. Degr. relating the meanes of raysing infinite profits to the Adventurors, and Planters. The second Edition, with Addition of THE DISCOVERY OF SILKWORMS, with their benefit, And Implanting of Mulberry Trees. ALSO the Dressing of Vines, for the rich Trade of making Wines in VIRGINIA. Together with the making of the Saw-mill, &c., &c. By E. W. Gent," London, 1650, pp. 56, 8vo.

The author signs himself in his preface Ed. Williams, but we have not been able to ascertain the date of publication of his first edition, he says "That wild Vines runne naturally over *Virginia*, occular experience declares who delighting in the Neighbourhood of their beloved Mulbery-trees inseparable associates over all that countrey, and of which in this their wildnesse, Wines have been made, of these vines if transplanted and cultivated, there can be made no doubt but a Rich and Generous Wine would be produced; But if wee set the Greeke, Cyprian, Candian or Calabrian

Grape, those Countries lying parallel with this, there neede not be made the smallest question, but it would be a staple, which would enrich this Countrey to the envy of France and Spaine, and furnish the Northerne parts of Europe, and China itself, where they plant it not (of which more heereafter), with the Noblest Wine in the World, at no excessive prices. * * * For the advance of which noble staple, I should propose that the Greeke, and other Rich Vines, being procured from the Countries, to which they are genial, every Planter in that Country might be enjoyned to keep a constant Nursery, to the end when the ground is cleared that they may be fit for removal and the Vineyard speedily planted.

"Further, that some Greek and other Vignevons might be hired out of these Countries to instruct us in the labour, and lest their envy, pride, or jealousie of being layd aside when their mysterie is discovered may make them too reserved in communicating their knowledge, they may be assured, besides the continuance of their Pension of a share of the profits of every mans Vintage. * * That before their going over a general consultation may be had whith them, what ground is proper, what season fit, what prevention of casualties by bleeding or splitting, what way to preserve or restore Wine when vesseld, which *species* of Wine is fittest for transportation over, or retention in the Countrey, which for duration, which for present spending: It being in experience manifest that some Wines refine themselves by purge upon the sea, others by the same meanes suffer an evaporation of their Spirits, joyne to this that some Winés collect strength and richnesse, others contract feetlenesse and sowernesse by seniority," pp. 6, 8.

Our author closes his delineation in these quaint sentences, and highly colored as they must, to his unimaginative countrymen, have seemed, the lapse of two centuries and a half does not falsify his predictions. The "opulence" he describes exists; the "Eden," of his beloved Virginia may not have been realized, but the future has great good in store when the clouds which now envelop her shall have passed away.

"The incomparable Virgin hath raised her dejected head, cleared her enclouded reputation, and now like the Eldest Daughter of Nature expresseth a priority in her Dowry ; her browes encircled with opulency to be believed by no other triall, but that of experience, her unwounded wombe has of all those Treasuries which indeere Provinces to respect of glory, and may with as great justice as any Countrey the Sunne honours with his eye-beames, entitle herself to an affinity with Eden, to an absolute perfection above all but Paradize.

"And this those Gentlemen to whom she vouchsafes the honour of her Embrces, when by the blessings of God upon their labours sated with the beauty of their Cornefield, they shall retire into their Groves checkered with

Vines, Olives, Mirtles, from thence dilate themselves into their Walkes covered in a manner, paved with Oranges and Lemmons, whence surfeited with variety, they incline to repose in their Gardens upon nothing less pérfumed then Roses and Gilly-flowers. When they shall see their numerous Heards wanton with the luxury of their Pasture, confesse a narrownesse in their Barnes to receive their Corne, in bosomes to expresse fully their thankefulness to the Almighty Author of these blessings, will chearefully confesse: Whilst the Incomparable Roanoake like a Queene of the Ocean, encircled with an hundred attendant Islands and the most Majestick Carolana shall in such an ample and noble gratitude by her improvement repay her Adventurers and Creditors with an Interest so far transcending the Principal," pp. 44, 45.

The grape grew indigenously in Pennsylvania and New Jersey and attracted the attention not of the early navigators only, but of the first settlers, and in their descriptions of the country, is frequently spoken of by both. It was found in great abundance along the shores of the Delaware, and De Vries in the account of his voyage of 1633, p. 40, appears to have been the first who mentions it, remarking, "this is a fine country in which many vines grow wild, so that we gave it the name of *Wyngærts kill.*" The creek to which he refers may have been the present Oldmans creek in New Jersey, or he may have intended to indicate the region between Naamans creek and Wilmington, Delaware. Lindstrom, the Swedish engineer, in his MS. map of the Delaware (of 1651), entitles the point of land immediately south of Oldmans creek, "*Drufwe udden, Le Cap des Raisins,*" and the country below Naamans creek, on the opposite shore, "*Windrufwe udden, Le Cap des Raisins.*" Penn had great expectaions from the cultivation of the grape, and frequently mentions it, with reference to the production of wine, as do others who came with or followed him — expectations which have not as yet been to any extent realized.

Note 10, *page* 37.

"Mum; a malt liquor, which derives its name from the inventor, *Mumme*, a German. It was formerly exported from Germany in large quantities, but is now less used." — *Encyclopædia Americana.*

Andrew Yarranton, in his work entitled *England's Improvements by Sea and Land*, recommends its manufacture and says:

"*Stratford* upon *Avon*, in *Warwickshire*, will be a very good place to build Granaries to receive Corn; * * * There may as much Mum be made there, as at present is made at Brunswick: And there Mum may be made and sent into Ireland, West Indies, France, Spain, and into the Mediterranean; And these Granaries will be the occasion of getting away

the Mum-Trade from Brunswick; This shews as like a *Romance* as doth the Title-page of my Book, unless I do give you reasons for what I say, and shew you how it may be brought to pass, the which I will do: Observe, the Mum at Brunswick is made of Wheat, and the Wheat that it is made of, is brought from the Granaries at *Magdenburg* and *Shenibank*, and it grows in the vale of *Parinburg;* when it comes to Brunswick it is malted, and so made into Mum; and when made, then sent by Land to the river *Elb*, and so to *Hamborough:* and from thence disposed by Merchants unto all Parts: But the Mum at Brunswick is a Medicine, and drinks very nauseous, and is not there drinkable at all; but that which makes it good palitable and strong is its being long at sea; There it is forc'd into a fermentation, and that keeps it working, whereby it alters the very property of the liquor; and were it not to be sent to sea, that trade at *Brunswick* would not be worth anything; and to convince you further of the reason of what I say, take this one thing, and that will confirm you in the truth of the rest. Our *English* Beer Brewed at *London*, and carried to sea, and landed at *Hamborough*, and so carried up the *Elb* as far as *Draisden*, the Duke of *Saxonies'* Court, and in those Parts, it is sold for six pence a quart; and it is not like the Beer either for Tast, Strength, or Pleasantness, as it was when here; the Sea having put it into a fermentation causeth it to drink pleasant strong and delightful, even comparable to *March*-Beer in England four Years old, which is well-brewed and grown very mellow." p. 118.

An inquiry which a friend,[1] in behalf of the editor, took the pains to insert in the London *Notes and Queries*, has elicited some curious information on this topic:

"In Playford's *Second Book of the Musical Companion*, N. Pearson, 1715, is the following *Catch in Praise of Mum:*

There's an odd sort of liquor
New come from Hamborough,
'Twill stick a whole wapentak
Thorough and thorough;
'Tis yellow, and likewise
As bitter as gall,
And as strong as six horses,
Coach and all,
As I told you 'twill make you
As drunk as a drum:
You'd fain know the name on't?
But for that, my friend, *mum.*

In a curious little book—*Political Merriment*, or *Truths to Set to Some Tune*, 1714—is a short poem "In Praise of Brunswick Mum" (p. 96), and at page 3, same work, "An Excellent Ballad," concluding with a stanza relating to mum. Pope also says, somewhere,

The clamorous crowd is hush'd with mugs of *mum*,
Till all, tun'd equal, sound a general hum."

N. and Q., 3d s., vii, p. 41.

[1] Mr. Thomas Stewardson Jr., of Philadelphia, to whose friendly aid we are indebted for further information.

Mum. "It may be worth recording that the word *mum* is at least as old as the beginning of the 16th century. In the treatise De Generibus *Elnosorum et Ebrietate Vitanda*, written A.D. 1515, occurs a chapter on the various kinds of beer then in use in Germany. Among a host of other names occurs that of *Mommon sive Mommun Brunsvigeii.*"

JOHN ELIOT HODGKIN,
From *Notes and Queries*, 3d s., vii, 163.

"Barclay, in his *Dictionary*, states this to be a strong liquor, brought from Brunswick or Germany. Ash defines it 'beer brewed from wheat.' I have, however, a curious old dictionary in 18mo, no name, but about 1700, which says: '*Mum*, a kind of physical beer, made (originally) at Brunswick or Germany with *husks* of Walnut infused.' Is this correct? If so, is the manufacture carried on there now? Or is there any record of Walnuts being used in brewing? And again, is the green shell, or what part of the fruit used? Broom tops formerly were employed in England for giving a bitter to beer, and are so to the present day in Italy. Many sorts of bitter have also been tried. This is the first, however, I have heard of Walnut in any form." A. A., *Poet's Corner.*

The following is from a manuscript note book in my possession, bearing date 1738:

"Mum is a sort of sweet malt liq'r, brewed with barley and hops and a small mixture of wheat; very thick, scarce drinkable till purified at Sea. It is transported into other countries. Hides and Mum chief trade of Brunswick, Wolfenbottel." W. TISHWICK,
Notes and Queries, 3d series, viii, 100.

Note 11, *page* 39.

Considerable attention was paid, at an early period, to the breed of horses in the colonies. The founder of Pennsylvania was very fond of the propagation of good stock, and, according to Mr. Dixon, "the love of fine horses, which the Englishman shares with the Arab, did not forsake him in the New World. At his first visit to America, he carried over three blood mares, a fine white horse, not of full breed, and other inferior animals, not for breeding but for labor. His inquiries about the mares were as frequent and minute as those about the gardens; and when he went out for the second time, in 1699, he took with him the magnificent colt, Tamerlane, by the celebrated Godolphin Barb, to which the best horses in England trace their pedigree."—Dixon's *Penn.*, Amer. ed., p. 297.

In a letter by Penn, addressed from Philadelphia in 1683 to *The Com-*

mittee of the Free Society of Traders, Residing in London, he says: "We have no want of horses, and some are very good and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes, with horses and pipe staves, since my coming in."

The breed of horses in New England, at least so far as related to Massachusetts, appears, prior to 1688, to have deteriorated; for in that year a stringent law was passed, for the purpose of correcting the evil. And in Connecticut, as well as in Rhode Island, much care was given to the rearing of good stock.—Palfrey's *Hist. of New England*, iii, p. 54, in note.

Note 12, *page* 39.

Our author here refers to the iron works of Col. Morris, which were in Monmouth county—*Morris Papers*, p. 3; Whitehead's *East Jersey*, 271. These were the first works in New Jersey, as those at Durham, below Easton, near the Delaware, were the first in Pennsylvania.

The earliest allusion to the existence of iron that we have been able to discover may be found in a tract, entitled "A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of severall scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise, Published by advice and direction of the Councell of Virginia," London, 1610. Sir Thomas Gates represented that "there are divers sorts of Mineralls especially of Iron oare, lying upon the ground for ten miles circuite, of which we have made triall at home that it makes as good iron as any in Europe."

In a subsequent and rare tract, probably by Sir Edwin Sandys, styled A Declaration of the State *of the* Colonie *and Affaires in* Virginia, &c., London, 1620, and to which allusion has been made. The writer states that in 1619, there were sent to that colony "out of *Warwickshire* and *Staffordshire* about one hundred and ten; and out of *Sussex* about forty; all framed to *Iron*-workes." Among the "commodities" to which "these people are directed principally to apply, next to their own necessary maintenance," he enumerates "*Iron:* for which are sent 150 Persons, to set up three *Iron* workes; proofe having been made of the extraordinary goodness of that *Iron.*" What success attended this adventure we have not been able to discover. Williams, in his tract entitled "*Virginia*," &c., London, 1650, and to which a more particular reference is made in a note, says: "But that in which there will be an extraordinary use of our Woods is the Iron mills, which if once erected, will be an undecaying staple, and of this forty servants will by their labour raise to the Adventurer foure thousand pound yearely: Which may easily be apprehended, if wee consider the deereness of Wood in England, where notwithstanding this great clog of

difficulty, the Master of the Mill gaines so much yearely, that he cannot but reckon himselfe a provident Saver. Neither does Virginia yeeld, to any other Province whatsoever, in excellency and plenty of this oare: And I cannot promise to myselfe any other then extraordinary successe and gaine, if this noble and usefull Staple be but vigorously followed.

"And indeed it had long ere this growne to a full perfection, if the treachery of the Indians had not crushed it in the beginning, and the backwardnesse of the *Virginia* Merchants to reerect it, hindred that countrey from the benefit arising from that universall staple."

In an appendix is to be found "A Valuation of the Commodities growing and to be had in Virginia: valued in the year 1621," where iron is set down at "*Ten pounds the Tun.*" We think this may be accepted in proof that the colonists of 1619 had succeeded in smelting iron ore, but that the production had been hindered by the causes mentioned by Williams. The tract published in 1650 was a second edition; and if merely a republication of the first edition, we have no means of assigning a date to the facts which he relates. It is, however, we think, to be presumed that if any fresh attempts had been made towards the establishment of works the author would have mentioned the circumstance.

The Dutch government were, it appears, at a very early period, alive to the value of the discovery of minerals; for in 1646, Hudde received directions from William Kieft, director general of the New Netherlands, "to inquire about certain minerals in this country." "For this purpose, he went to Sankikans and tried to penetrate to the great falls, where, if the samples might be credited, there was a great hope of success, when," says Hudde, "I would pass the first fall,[1] a sachem, named Wirakeken, stopped me, and asked where I would go. I answered I intended to go upward. He replied I was not permitted, and asked what is my object. He at last informed me that the Swedish governor told one Meerkedt, a sachem residing near Tinnekonk, that we intended to build a house near the great falls, and that in the vessels which we expected near 250 men would arrive to be sent from the Manhattans, who would kill all the savages below on the river, and that this fort was to be garrisoned in the house which we intended to build, and would prevent the savages residing up the river to come to their assistance, so that no more would be able to escape; and in proof of all this, that we would first come up in a small vessel to visit and explore the spot, and that we would kill two savages as a pretext, but that Printz would never permit it, and would certainly expel us from the river." All attempts to go up to the falls being ineffectual, as he was stopped every time, the project was necessarily abandoned by

[1] At Trenton, N. J.

Hudde."—Hazard's *Annals of Penn.*, 87. Thus, owing to the watchful jealousy of the Swedish governor Printz, in exciting the fears of the Indians, the discovery of iron and other ore was delayed. It is probable the region to which Hudde desired to penetrate was either the Meenesink, and where in all likelihood a Dutch colony already existed, or it may have been the country in the neighborhood of Durham, in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, where the earliest attempt at the manufacture of iron was made.

Campanius, the Swedish historian, of what afterwards constituted the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey (Stockholm, 1702), and whose work was translated by Mr. Du Ponceau, and published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, although minutely describing the productions of the country, does not allude to the existence of iron. And it is equally curious that Penn, in his letter of 1683 to the Society of Free Traders, and which was the result of close personal observation, says nothing of iron, although his object is evidently to impart information for the benefit and encouragement of emigrants.—See Letter in Proud's *Penn.*, I, 246, In a description of Pennsylvania entitled "*Some Accounts of the Province,*" and published by him previously to his embarkation (London, 1681), he speaks of iron among the "commodities" "that the country is *thought* to be capable of."—*Hazard's Register*, I, 307.

The earlier statistics upon the subject of iron are very meagre. Mr. French has attempted to collect them and states that the pig and bar iron exported to Great Britain by the American Colonies from 1728 to 1748, and from 1750 to 1755, inclusive, "amounted to 58,000 tons," and upon separating the items we find the remarkable fact that during these years the total amount exported from Pennsylvania was 8,012 tons against 48,912 from Maryland and Virginia.—*History of Rise and Progress of the Iron Trade in the United States*, &c. By B. F. French, 1858.

The mother country was jealous of her colonies, and when competition was found likely to interfere with home production, an act of Parliament was passed to crush the incipient spirit of enterprise. It was as to iron, however, discovered that it would be promotive of home interests to allow the creation of the raw material, in the form of pigs and bars, but not its further manufacture, so it was enacted that the importation of pig and bar iron should be encouraged, but that the "erection of any Mill or other Engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating Forge to work with a Tilt Hammer, or any Furnace for making steel should not be permitted," and the respective Governors were required to return a list of such as were erected prior to the 24th of January 1750. We consequently find that William Branson and Stephen Paschall were returned as the owners of a Furnace[1]

1 At the N. W. corner of Walnut and 8th streets, built in 1747, Philadelphia.

in Philadelphia, for making steel, and John Hall as the owner of a Plating Forge with Tilt Hammer in Biberry Township, Philadelphia county, both erected, however, prior to 1750. No such works were returned as existing in Bucks or Lancaster counties and that "one such Mill" had been erected in 1746 by John Taylor, in Thornbury Township, Chester county, *Colonial Records*, V, 458; *Id.*, IX, 632; *Pensylvania Archives*, II, 52.

The lapse of one hundred years made a great change in the productive capacity of the iron works of Pennsylvania, for in 1850 we find her in possession of 504 establishments; of these 64 were Anthracite Blast Furnaces, 230 Charcoal Hot and Cold Blast, 4 Coke and Hot Blast, 6 Bloomeries, 121 Forges, 79 Rolling Mills. Of the Furnaces five were unfinished, and of the rest, owing to the depressed state of the manufacture, more than half were out of blast. Of the 62 counties then constituting the state 45 possessed iron works. The amount of capital invested was $20,502,076, of which $1,837,000 belonged to capitalists in Alleghany county.

The actual make in 1849 in Pennsylvania by Furnaces of all descriptions, was ..... 253,035 tons
By Forges..... 29,240 "
" Rolling Mills..... 108,358 "

For which facts we are indebted to a valuable work entitled "Documents relating to the Manufacture of Iron in Pennsylvania," &c. By Mr. Charles E. Smith, Philadelphia, 1850.

The total manufacture in 1849, and in Pennsylvania itself amounted to 390,633 tons, exceeding, so far as imperfect statistics enable us to judge, by more than six times the total production of the whole country beginning with the year 1728 and ending with 1755, exclusive of the year 1749, of which we have no account.

In 1859, probably owing to the reverses in the trade, the number of iron works in Pennsylvania were but 410: In New Jersey there were 80, in Maryland 34 and in Virginia, which at one time stood preëminent in the manufacture, but 82.

Note 13, *page* 40.

According to the "*Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires of Virginia*, &c.," London, 1620, p. 4, already quoted, the *cotton plant* appears to have been indigenous to that colony.

In Williams's *Virginia*, London, 1650, also cited, "*cotton wool*, at 8*d.* the pound," is named in the "Valuation of the Commodities growing and to be had in Virginia: valued in the year 1621." "And since those times improved in all more or lesse," &c.

Note 14, *page* 42.

In a work by Ed. Williams, entitled VIIRGINIA'S *Discovery of* SILKE WORMES, with their benefit, &c., Together with the making of the Saw-mill, very usefull in *Virginia* for cutting of Timber, &c., pp. 78, London, 1650, is a representation of a saw-mill, in which, from casual observation, very little, if any difference, can be observed from the mill of the present day.

The author, at the close of his tract, remarks: "This Engine is very common in Norway and Mountaines of Sweden, wherewith they cut great quantity of Deal-bords; which Engine is very necessary to be in a great Towne or Forrest, to cut Timber, whether into planks or otherwise.

This heer[1] is not altogether like those of Norway; for they make the piece of Timber approch the Sawes on certaine wheels with teeth; but because of reparations which those toothd wheeles are often subject unto, I will omit that use: and in stead thereof, put two weights, about 2 or 300 pound weight apiece, whereof one is marked A the other B. The Cords wherewith the sayd weights doe hang, to be fastned at the end of the 2 peeces of moving wood, which slide on two other peeces of fixed wood, by the means of certaine small pulleys, which should be within the house, and so the sayd weights should alwayes draw the sayd peeces of moving wood, which advancing alwayes towards the Sawes rising and falling, shall quickly be cut into 4. 5. or 6. peeces, as you shall pleas put on Saws, and placed at what distance you will have for the thickness of the planks or bords ye will cut: and when a peece is cut, then let one with a Lever turne a Rowler, whereto shall be fastned a strong Cord which shall bring backe the sayd peece of wood, and lift again the weights: and after put aside the peece already cut, to take againe the Sawes against another peece of wood. Which once done the ingenious Artist may easily convert the same to an Instrument of threshing wheat, breaking of hempe or flax, and other as profitable uses."

Note 15, *Page* 43.

The first legislation upon the subject of education, on this continent was attempted by the Virginia Company, in the establishment of a *College* for the training of Indian children, and for this purpose land was granted for its support and in 1619 and 1620 fifty "men were sent, by their labours to bear up the charge of bringing up thirty of the *Infidels* children, in true Religion and civility" and one hundred "tenants for the Colleges Land."

The management of the *College* was by the CXXV chapter of the *Orders and Constitutions ordained by the Treasuror* Counseil and *Companie of Virginia* placed in the hands of a committee who were appointed by the Quarter

[1] Referring to the representation.

Court, for a year, and were required "to take into their care the matter of the College to be erected for the conversion of Infidels."—*A Declaration of the state of the Colonie in Virginia*, 6, 3, 36.

In the *Great Charter of Liberties*, as it was styled by the people, or *Frame* of Government, as it was designated by Penn, and which, as its preamble sets out, was "contrived, and composed to the great end of all government, viz. to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that they may be free by their just obedience and the magistrates, honorable for their just administration, for liberty without obedience in confusion and obedience without liberty is slavery" it was provided "that the Governor and Provincial council shall erect and order all public schools and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions in the said province."

At a council held at Philadelphia the 26th 10th month (December), 1683, and at which Penn was present, this power seems to have been for the first time exercised, and the following entry which portrays the simplicity of the times, and the solicitude of the government upon the subject, may be found not uninteresting.

"The Govr and Provincial Council, having taken into their Serious Consideration the great Necessity there is, of a Scool Master for the Instruction and Sober Education of Youth in the Towne of Philadelphia, Sent for Enock flower, an Inhabitant of the said Towne, who for twenty year past hath been excercised, in that care, and Imployment in England, to whom, having Communicated their Minds, he Embraced it upon these following Termes: to Learne to read English 4, s. by the Quarter, to Learne to read and write 6, s. by ye Quarter, to Learne to read, Write and Cast accot 8, s. by ye Quarter; for Boarding a Scholler, that is to say dyet, Washing, Lodging and Scooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year."—*Colonial Records*, I, p. 91.

In the following month it was proposed, in the council "That care be taken about the Learning and Instruction of Youth to Witt: a scool of Arts and Siences." This proposition does not appear to have been carried out but the suggestion is remarkable as presenting the earliest indication in the history of the Province, of an attempt to secure advantages upon a scale more extended, than those afforded by instruction in the simpler branches of education. The Friends Public School which was established in 1689, had its origin perhaps, in this expression of the opinion of the Council. This noted Institution, which to this day in Philadelphia, flourishes in full vigor, was incorporated in 1697, and its charter was confirmed by a fresh Patent from Penn in 1701 and by another in 1708, whereby the corporation was "For ever there after to consist of fifteen discreet and

religious persons, of the people called Quakers, by the name of the over seers of the Public School, founded in Philadelphia, at the request, cost, and charges, of the people called Quakers:" Its last charter, confirming all the preceeding and enlarging the powers of the corporation was conferred in 1711.

The benefits were not restricted to the Society, and Robert Proud the Historian of the State, and who at a subsequent period was the head Master thus speaks of it: "This was the first Institution of the kind, in Pennsylvania, intended not only to facilitate the acquisition of the more generally used parts of learning, among all ranks, or degrees, of the people (the poorer sort being taught gratis, and the rich or more wealthy, still paying a proportion for their childrens' instruction) but also the better, and more extensively to promote a virtuous and learned education, than could be effected by any other manner, was the end of the design; which to the preamble in the said present charter, is thus expressed, viz:

"*Whereas*, the prosperity and welfare of any people depend in great measure, upon the good education of youth, and their early introduction in the principles of true religion and virture, and qualifying them to serve their country and themselves by breeding them in reading, writing, and learning of languages, and useful arts and sciences, suitable to their sex age and degree; which cannot be effected in any manner so well as by erecting *public schools*, for the purposes aforesaid," &c.

"For these laudable purposes, therefore, a number of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, being Quakers, in the Fifth month the year (1689), agreed with George Keith, who then resided at Freehold, now called Monmouth, in New Jersey, to undertake the charge. He accordingly removed to Philadelphia, and was the first master of that school; but continued only about one year".—Proud's *History of Penn.*, I, 343.

Keith who afterwards became famous in the controversial history of the Province was succeeded by his usher Thomas Makin.

Makin was afterward clerk of the assembly, but is better known as the author of a Latin poem "*Descriptio Pennsylvaniæ*, Anno, 1729." In the following lines he alludes to his connection with the grammar school.

"Hic in gymnasiis linguæ docentum et artes
Ingenuæ: hic multis doctor et ipse fui.
Una schola hic alias etiam supereminet omnes,
Romano et Græco quæ docet ore loqui."

Which Proud renders,

"Here schools for learning, and for arts are seen,
In which to many I've a teacher been:
But one, in teaching, doth the rest excel,
To know and speak the Greek and Latin well."—*Proud*, ii, 370.

The provision on the subject of public schools incorporated in the first and the succeeding frames of government of the province again found a place in the constitution of 1776.

"A school or schools shall be established in each county, by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters paid, by the Public, as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices: And all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." Sec. 44, ch. ii.

At the period of the adoption of this constitutional enactment but one college existed in the province. The academy established in 1749 through the agency of a few public spirited individuals among whom was Dr. Franklin, was incorporated in 1753. In 1755 a college was grafted upon it, and in 1779 the property of the institutions was vested, by an act of assembly in trustees, and the "University of the State of Pennsylvania" was created. Academies now began to multiply and were incorporated, and to some extent endowed by the state. Dickinson and Franklin Colleges were incorporated.

In 1770 a new constitution was established in which was this direction.

"Article vii, sect. i. The Legistature shall, as soon as conviently may be, provide by law, for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis.

"Sect. ii. The arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning."

This requirement of the constitution was disregarded for twelve years, when, on the first of March, 1802, an act of assembly was passed, by which the guardians and overseers of the poor in the city of Philadelphia, of the district of the Northern Liberties, and of every township and borough throughout the commonwealth, were directed to ascertain the names of all those children whose parents or guardians were judged to be unable to provide an education, and to subscribe at the usual rates, and send such children to any neighboring school. This act expired in 1805, but was in terms reënacted in 1809.

It was almost immediately from necessity, an unpopular statute, and although in some instances obeyed, it was in many abused.

In 1818 the city and county of Philadelphia was erected into the first school district; and the first general act which appears to have been of any benefit was passed in the same year. The foundation of our present system of common schools in Pennsylvauia was laid in 1824.

Eleven years afterwards (in 1835), the number of schools in Pennsylvania was 762; of teachers, 808; and the average number of scholars in

attendance was 32,544. By the report of the superintendent for the year ending first June, 1864, the number of schools had increased to 12,930; of teachers to 15,907; of scholars to 471,267; and the amount expended in the state, exclusive of Philadelphia, was over two millions of dollars.

The annual message of Mr. Alexander Henry, mayor of Philadelphia, to the councils, presented in April, 1865, states that the amount expended in that city during the year 1864, by the board of controllers was $875,889; and that the number of pupils, irrespective of 3,297, "whose admission was denied for want of accommodation," was 71,838, exceeding in the city alone, according to the best computation, by 22,000, the entire amount of taxables in the province one hundred years ago.

Public Schools in New Jersey.

We are indebted for the following interesting sketch of the origin of the system of public instruction in New Jersey to the valuable report of Mr. F. W. Record, state superintendent, made to the legislature of that state in the year 1863.

"There was a period in the history of our commonwealth when the governor, council and deputies in general assembly arrived, for the first time, at the conclusion that 'the cultivating of learning and good manners tends greatly to the good and benefit of mankind;' and, under the impression that it was a part of their business to do some little 'good and benefit' for mankind, they passed an act, entitled 'An act to establish Schoolmasters within this Province.' This was actually making a beginning, and a very good beginning too, and, perhaps, it was all that was necessary at the time; but no sooner had the work of establishing schoolmasters fairly commenced, than it was found necessary to do something more than make a mere beginning. It became apparent, within three years, that the 'cultivating of learning and good manners' was destined to be a flourishing business, and that the general assembly must do something more than 'establish Schoolmasters.' Accordingly, we now find them discussing the propriety of appointing men in the different townships to look after the schoolmasters, and to make good bargains with them, and to see that they moved their respective schools around from one locality to another, so that all the inhabitants of each and every township should have a fair chance at the 'cultivation of learning and good manners.' Thus from time to time, as circumstances required, other laws were passed, whose object was to extend the work, the beginning of which appeared so insignificant; and in the process of years, educational matters were reduced to something bearing a resemblance to system. Schools and schoolmasters became, in time, a necessity; and when, after the revolution, neighboring states

began to make provision for their permanent establishment and maintenance, a desire was also manifested here to do something in the same direction. Various projects for creating a fund for the support of schools were discussed, but nothing could be agreed upon that did not call for an onerous tax upon the people. In the year 1813 the state came into possession of forty thousand dollars, by the sale of certain bank stock which it was deemed undesirable for her to hold; and the friends of education, believing this to be a favorable opportunity, undertook to make this surplus in the treasury a nucleus for a permanent fund for the support of schools. Mr. James Parker, of Perth Amboy, still among the honored living, was unwearied in his efforts to secure the appropriation of this money for purposes of education. He introduced into the legislature a resolution to this effect; but the session being near its close, the subject was postponed, and, when brought up again during the following year, was once more put off in consequencc of the demands of war. Faithful, however, to the cause which he had so nobly espoused, Mr. Parker, on his return to the assembly of 1816–17, again revived the subject, introducing the following resolution, which was adopted on the 1st of February, 1817.

"'*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of creating a fund for the support of free schools in this state.'

"Placed, according to parliamentary usage, at the head of this committee, he acted with so much promptness that on the fifth of the same month a bill was reported, entitled 'An act to create a Fund for the Support of Free Schools,' which was passed by the assembly on the eleventh, and was introduced into and passed by the council on the twelfth. Thus the foundation of the school fund of New Jersey was laid."

From the report for the year 1864, of Mr. C. M. Harrison, the state superintendent of public schools, and the annual message, presented in January, 1865, by Governor Parker, it appears that the total amount expended in 1864 for school purposes was $637,079.82; that the number of school buildings was 1,452, of teachers 2,012, and of scholars 149,672.

Note 16, *page* 48.

The suggestion in the text is derived from Yarranton's *England's Improvements*, who, in referring to the success of the Dutch, mentions as one of its causes, first that "they have fitted themselves with a public register of all their lands and houses, whereby it is made ready money at all times, without the charge of law or the necessity of a lawyer." "Thirdly, By a Public Bank, the great sinews of trade, the credit thereof making paper go in trade equal with ready money, yea, better, in many parts of the

world than money." He presents this illustration of the system "Now I am a *Dutchman*, and have One hundred pounds a year in the Province of *West-Friezland* near *Groningen*, and I came to the Bank at *Amsterdam*, and there tender a Particular of my Lands, and how tenanted, being One hundred pounds a year in *West Friezland*, and desire them to lend me Four thousand pounds, and I will Mortgage my Land for it. The Answer will be, I will send by the Post to the Register of Groningen your Particular, and at the return of the Post you shall have your Answer. The Register of *Groningen* sends Answer, It is my Land and tenanted according to the Particular. There is no more words, but to tell out your Monies. Observe all you that read this, and tell your children this strange thing, *That Paper in Holland is equal with moneys in* England, I refuse the Moneys, I tell him I do not want Moneys, I want credit, and having one son at *Venice*, one at *Noremberge*, one at *Hamburgh*, and one at *Dantzick*, where Banks are, I desire four Tickets of Credit, each of them for a Thousand pounds, with Letters of Advice directed to each of my sons, which is immediately done, and I mortgage my Lands at three in the hundred. Reader I pray observe, that every Acre of Land in the *Seven Provinces* trades all the world over, and it is as good as ready money; In England * * * many Gentlemen at this day at five hundred pounds a year in Land, cannot have credit to live at a Twelve penny Ordinary. If this be so, it is very clear and evident, that a man with one hundred pounds a year in *Holland*, so convient as their Titles are, and at the paying but three in the hundred interest for the Moneys lent, may sooner raise three families, than a Gentleman in England can either raise one, or preserve the family in being, for the reasons already given. But were the Free Lands of England under a voluntary Register, all these Miseries would vanish, and the land would come to thirty years Purchase, which I shall show you in its proper place * * * I can both in *England* and *Wales* Register my Wedding, my Burial, and my Christening, and a poor Parish Clerk is intrusted with the Keeping of the Book, and that which is Registered there, is good by our Law: But I cannot Register my Land to be honest to pay every man his own, to prevent those sad things that attend families for want thereof, and to have the great benefit and advantage that would come thereby. A Register will quicken trade, and the Land registered will equal as cash in a mans hands and the credit thereof will go and do in trade what ready moneys now doth. Observe how it advanceth trade in Holland, and of how little Advantage it is to the Trade in England. I having one hundred pounds a year in Holland, meet with a Merchant upon the *Exchange* at *Amsterdam* and agree with him for goods to the value of Four thousand pounds for six months. If he demands security I go to the Bank, and give him security

by a ticket of my Land, and by the credit of that Ticket the Merchant is immediately in Trade again as high as the commodity, was, he sold. But if I make a Bargain at London for Four thousand pounds worth of Goods for six months, the next discourse is, what security? Then the Buyer and the Seller agree to meet at the Tavern at four of the clock in the Afternoon: There Buyer produceth his security, many times not approved of; so the Merchant cannot put off his commodities, nor the chapman have the Goods he stands in need of. But if the Buyer or any Friend of his that would credit him, had Land under a Register, then a Ticket upon such Lands given to the Merchant would be equal to him as Ready Moneys; and I say better too * * * But you will say, I talk that Gentlemen in *England* cannot have Moneys for Land; It is not so: And that I say Lawyers know no Titles, I ought to have my pate crackt; for money is plentiful, and Lawyers are cunning enough to spy out good Titles.

"As to both I would it were true for the sake of the poor Gentlemen and the Lawyers too. But as to the greatest part of them, that have a Thousand pounds a year, the world knows they are so far from borrowing Four thousand pounds, that they cannot borrow Four hundred pounds; and I dare say some Lords also.

"Nay, to my knowledge three eminent Lawyers have been put to much charge and trouble in their Estates lately purchased by them in Montgomery, Hereford, and Worcester shires by reason of former incumbrances: Now if an Eminent Lawyer cannot purchase an Estate without so much trouble, hazard, and charge, upon a Title settled at least Fifty years ago by all the Judges of England and in the Excheqer chamber; upon what security can the Banks be understood to lay out their moneys safe? And the poor countrymen are yet in a worse condition. * * * Of late years the monied Men in England sent their moneys into Lombard street, and there received a note from a Goldsmith's Boy which was all they had to shew for their Moneys. And certainly there was a Reason, wherefore the great monied men did take such slender security for their Moneys: The Reason was because the Land security was so uncertain and bad, and it was so troublesome and chargeable getting their Moneys again when they had occasion to use it, that forc't them to Lombard street."—*Yarranton*, pp. 7, 10, 17.

The embarrassment resulting from the want of a more abundant medium of exchange, than that afforded by the coin of other countries, and the still rarer circulation of the Pine Tree currency of New England, issued by the mint established in Boston in 1652, was early felt in Pennsylvania and in New Jersey.

Whether the policy of emitting bills of credit was sound or not the public did not lack an opportunity of coming to a judgment, so far as the subject was presented by the pamphlets published, not in Pennsylvania and New Jersey only, but in other portions of the country. No question has, from the beginning of our history, been more thoroughly examined than that of the currency. And although there doubtless were sound reasons to be presented on both sides, we believe no one will refuse to concede that, so far as concerns Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the weight of the argument was in favor of the friends of paper money. Certain it is, that the prosperity of both provinces began very sensibly to increase from the date of the establishment of a loan office, and the issuing of bills of credit. The measure was forced upon the people.

Paper money was first issued in New Jersey in 1709. As the act, authorizing its issue, is not to be found in any of the numerous editions of the laws of that state, and but one copy of it is positively known to exist, we present it without abridgment, and beg to express our obligations to Mr. Charles E. Green, of Trenton, to whose industrious research we are indebted for the transcript.

At a General Assembly held at Burlington from the 13th day of May to the 30th day of June, 1709, in the 8th year of the reign of Queen Anne, the following law was passed:

Chap. XX. An Act for enforcing the Currency of Bills of Credit for Three Thousand Pounds.

Be it enacted by the Lieut. Governor, Council and General Assembly, and by the authority of the same. That Bills of Credit shall be issued forth to the value of £3000, and no more, pursuant to the value of money specified in an act for the support of her Majesty's Government of New Jersey for one year; which Bills shall be in manner and form following, viz:

(This indented Bill of..... shillings, due from the colony of New Jersey to the possessor thereof, shall be in value equal to money, and shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer of this Colony, for the time being, in all public payments, and for any fund at any time in the Treasury. Dated, New Jersey, the 1st of July, 1709. By order of the Lieutenant Governor, Council and General Assembly of the said Colony.)

Which Bills shall be signed by Mr. Thomas Pike, Capt. Thomas Farmer, Mr. John Royce and Capt. Elisha Parker, or any three of them, who are hereby appointed and directed to sign the same, and lodge the same in the Treasurer's hands, to be issued out by the Treasurers, under the hands of the said Capt. Thomas Farmer, Mr. John Royce and Capt.

Elisha Parker, or any two of them, for provisions, and every other thing whatever, necessary for and relating to the expedition against Canada: and further to be issued out by the Treasurers, by warrants under the hand of the Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, for such pay as shall be due to such Captains and Lieutenants as go on said expeditions according to an act of General Assembly, entitled, An act for encouragement of Volunteers to join the expedition to Canada: and further to be issued out by the said Treasurer, by warrants under the hands of the Captains aforesaid, for payment of such rewards as are given to volunteers who go on said expedition, according to the afore-recited act of General Assembly.

Which Bills shall be received, taken for the value as aforesaid, and equal to the current coyn passing in this colony for goods bought or sold, in any payment to be made for debts contracted, or that shall be contracted: and the tender of the said Bills for the payment and discharge of any debt, or debts, bargains, sales, bonds, Bills, mortgages and specialties whatsoever, shall be as good and effectual in the law, to all intents, constructions and purposes, as if the current coyn of this Colony had been offered and tendered to any person or persons whatsoever, for the discharge of ye same, or any part thereof.

And Be it further enacted, &c. That the said Bills of credit shall be printed and numbered, expressing in every of them the sum of moneys they shall be current for; and to prevent counterfeiting any of the said bills, they shall be dated and indented on the top thereof, with the arms of the Queen of Great Brittain, stampt or printed on the left side thereof, towards the bottom of every of the said Bills; and the indent shall pair with and suit a counterpart thereof, bound in a book for that purpose, and subscribed by the parties herein appointed to do ye same, to be kept by the Treasurers, of the same tenor and date, and so near in similitude, in all circumstances, as possible may be, to such Bills of credit that are issued and made current in payment, as aforesaid. Two hundred of which said bills shall be for £5 each bill; Two hundred of them for forty shillings each; six hundred of them for twenty shillings each; One thousand of them for two shillings each; and Two thousand of them for five shillings each Bill, amounting to, in all, three thousand pounds.

Provided alway, and this the true intent and meaning of this Act. That the said *Signees* shall not sign a quarter number of the said bills of credit than what shall amount to or pass, or be current for more than three thousand pounds money aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, &c. That for the better currency of the said Bills of credit, the Collectors and Treasurers of this Colony, for the time

being, shall, and are hereby required and directed to take and receive all and every the said Bills, according to the value therein expresssed, with the proportional advance of Two and a half per cent, on all and every the said bills that shall be offered and tendered to them the said Collectors and Treasurers, for any money due for the first payment of the said £3,000 Tax; and Five per cent on all and every the bills that shall be offered and tendered to the sd. Collectors and Treasurers for money due for the second and last payment of the sd. three thousand pound Tax. And on their receipt of each payment of the sd. £3,000 Tax, they shall appoint the person that signed the sd. bills to meet him or them the sd. Treasurer or Treasurers, who are hereby required and directed to meet and joyn with him or them to examine and compare the said bills so to be canceled, as aforesaid, and keep the same on a file, in order to be further examined by the Governour Council and General assembly, for the time being, or such as they shall appoint, when filing and requiring the same.

And be it further enacted, &c. That the said Commissioners or signees, shall take an oath before any justice of the Peace of this Province, being of the Quorum, in the words following:

I, A. B., do on the holy Evangelists, sincerely swear, that I will, to the best of my knowledge and skill, truly, sincerely and faithfully discharge the trust reposed in me, relating to and concerning the signing and issuing Bills of Credit, mentioned in, and pursuant to ye true intent and meaning of An act for the enforcing the currency of Bills of credit for three thousand pounds.

So help me God.

And be it further enacted, &c. That such person or persons as shall be convicted of Counterfeiting any of the said bills of credit, shall incur the pains and penalties of Felony, without the benefit of Clergy, and suffer accordingly.

And be it further enacted, &c. That the said bills of credit shall be current as aforesaid, between man and man, the Treasurers excepted, only until the first day of June, which will be in the year of our Lord, 1711, and shall and may be received by the Treasurers until the first day of September then next following, and no longer.

And be it further enacted, &c. That the Three Thousand pound Tax passed this session, shall be paid to the said Treasurers in the said Bills of credit, and in no other specie whatsoever.

In 1716 another act was passed authorizing the creation of about 4,000 pounds proclamation money. In 1723 40,000 pounds were issued, of which 4,000 were principally applied to the redemption of the old bills.

The remainder it was directed, should be lent on the mortgage of real estate and the deposit of plate. The bills were made on legal tender under heavy penalties for a refusal to take them, and to the period of the revolution about six hundred thousand pounds had been issued.—*Hist. of the early settlement of Cumberland Co., N. J.*; ch. 17 and 18; *Bridgeton Chronicle* of April 15 and 22, 1865. By Hon. Judge Elmer, of the Sup. Ct. of N. J.

We are pleased to state that it is Judge Elmer's purpose to considerably enlarge these interesting sketches and to give them to the public in a more permanent form.

The first act authorizing the creation of bills of credit was passed by Pennsylvania in 1722, and was drawn with great care. The wisdom of its provisions, and the pains taken to guard against fraud placed the scheme upon a firm basis, and secured a confidence in the safety of the issue which for years was unimpaired.

Massachusetts preceded Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the adoption of the new system (*An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency.* By Joseph B. Felt, Boston, 1839) having in 1690 authorized the creation of paper money.—The necessity of the case suggested the only expedient to avert an inconvenience, and the experiment would doubtless have been originated on this side of the Atlantic, even had examples upon the other not already existed. The Pennsylvania act was entitled "An act for emitting and making current Fifteen Thousand Pounds in Bills of Credit," and the preamble sets forth these reasons: "Forasmuch as through the Extreme scarcity of money the trade of the Province is greatly lessened and the payment of the Public Debts of this Government rendered exceeding difficult and likely so to continue unless some medium in commerce be lawfully made current instead of money, be it," &c. The act is based upon 6th Anne for ascertaining the rates of foreign coin in the loan office, and declared to be intended for the "benefit of the Poor industrious sort of people of the Province at an easy rate of interest to relieve them from the present difficulty they labor under." The security required was of the best description. The trustees were authorized to accept the pledge of plate, and mortgages upon lands, houses, or ground rents free of incumbrance, the estate to be in fee, and in the case of lands or ground rents, to be in value double that of the amount mortgaged, but in the case of houses treble, and the guards against attempts at fraud were judicious.

Eleven thousand pounds were to be issued at five per cent, of which one-eighth of the principal was to be paid annually and no applicant was authorized to receive more than one hundred pounds. The bills were made a legal tender and the refusal to accept them in discharge of debts, &c., worked a forfeiture of the debt, and persons offering land or chattels

cheaper for bills than for silver subjected the offender to a penalty. As necessity required, fresh loans were from time to time created, and the province continued to prosper under them. Such was the result of the system in Pennsylvania, so admirably planned and executed that Governor Pownall in his work on the administration of the colonies bestows high praise on the paper system of Pennsylvania.—"I will venture to say," he declares, "that there never was a wiser or a better measure, never one calculated to serve the interests of an increasing country, that there never was a measure more steadily pursued or more faithfully executed for forty years together than the Loan office of Pennsylvania founded and administered by the assembly of that province"—*Younge on Paper Money*, p. 8.

The emission of Pennsylvania paper money was never excessive. In 1759 it reached 185,000, the largest amount in circulation at any one time. The contests which were of so frequent occurrence between the governor and the assemblies, and with the mother country, and the absence of a union of the colonies, rendered the system of bills of credit very unstable. Had it been possible to have devised a permanent and uniform medium of circulation the general progress of the country would have been much in advance of the condition in which it was found at the period of the revolution.

The finances were thrown into confusion by that event, and the expenditures which it involved. An attempt to avoid the misfortunes of the past, and initiate a currency of more general credit and circulation resulted, under the recommendation of Robert Morris, in the incorporation by congress, on the 31st of December, 1781, of the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, which on the 1st April, 1782, also received a charter from Pennsylvania. Such, however, was the effect of the spirit of political faction, that the incorporation by the state was repealed, and pamphlets were written to show that congress, under the confederation, had no power to charter such an institution.

The credit which the loan office had established for itself, induced some to prefer that system to the operation of a bank. The latter, notwithstanding, from year to year gained strength, and the benefit derived was so considerable, that the charter which had been repealed by the Legislature was again conferred, and the Bank of North America, under its perpetual incorporation, derived from the congress of the confederation, exists to this day in undiminished vigor and usefulness, the parent institution of the country.

Note 17, *Page* 63.

The reader is referred to a valuable note on the subject of wampum by Mr. Gabriel Furman, at p. 42 of Denton's *Description* of *New York*. Vol. I of Gowans's *Bibliotheca Americana*.

Note 18, *Page* 64.

John Cripps was a person of prominence in the early history of West Jersey. In 1682 he was a justice of peace for the jurisdiction of Burlington and also a member of the assembly. Cripps arrived in 1677 in the ship Kent.

Note 19, *Page* 72.

We have never met with a copy of this paper.

THE END.

GOWANS'
BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA.

Consisting of a series of reprints of rare old books and pamphlets, relating to the early settlement of North America; namely, History, Biography, Topography, Narrative and Poetry. Each book or pamphlet, reprinted accurately and carefully from the original text, with an Historical Introduction and copious Notes, illustrative, biographical, historical, &c., &c.

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No. 2. WOOLEY, CHARLES.—A two years' Journal in New York and parts of its Territories in America (1679). A new edition, with copious Historical and Biographical Notes, by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D. To match Denton's New Netherland. New York, 1860. $2.50.

No. 3. MILLER, JOHN.—A Description of the Province and City of New York, with plans of the City and several Forts as they existed in the year 1695. New edition, with copious Historical and Biographical Notes, by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. New York, 1862. $2.50.

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The above four books, touching the early history of the New-World, now New York, were all produced by residents at the time on the spot, and witnesses to what they relate. In consequence, like all fragments or large treatises, written by eye-witnesses, they possess an interest and authority not connected with the works of copyists or reproducers. These new editions are vastly enhanced in intrinsic value by the Historical and Biographical Notes, added by their respective editors, all well known as being amply capable of doing justice, as commentators on American subjects. Copies of the original editions of these books are worth $100.

The edition of the small paper copies was quite limited, and only fifty copies each of the large paper were produced. These volumes will hereafter possess a value far exceeding the originals, for this two-fold reason: First, there are but few produced, and second, they constitute as it were, landmarks in the early history of the North American Colonies, as well as divers other parts of the new found land of America.

GOWANS'

BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA.

5

"Thy fathers went down into Egypt with three score and ten persons, and now the Lord thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven for multitude." .....*Moses.*

"Two things are to be considered in writing history, truth and elocution, for in truth consisteth the soul, and in elocution the body of history; the latter without the former, is but a picture of history; the former without the latter, unapt to instruct. The principle and proper work of history, being to instruct, and enable men by their knowledge of actions past, to bear themselves prudently in the present, and providently towards the future." .....*T. Hobbes.*



NEW YORK:
WILLIAM GOWANS.

1869.

64 COPIES PRINTED ON LARGE PAPER 4TO.

A

CHARACTER OF THE PROVINCE

OF

MARYLAND.

DESCRIBED IN FOUR DISTINCT PARTS.

ALSO

A SMALL TREATISE ON THE WILD AND NAKED INDIANS (OR SUSQUEHANOKES) OF MARYLAND, THEIR CUSTOMS, MANNERS, ABSURDITIES, AND RELIGION.

TOGETHER WITH

A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL LETTERS.

BY

GEORGE ALSOP.

A NEW EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COPIOUS HISTORICAL NOTES.

By JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D.,

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Our western world, with all its matchless floods,
Our vast transparent lakes and boundless woods,
Stamped with the traits of majesty sublime,
Unhonored weep the silent lapse of time,
Spread their wild grandeur to the unconscious sky,
In sweetest seasons pass unheeded by;
While scarce one muse returns the songs they gave,
Or seeks to snatch their glories from the grave.

ALEXANDER WILSON, The Ornithologist.

The greater part of the magnificent countries east of the Alleghanies is in a high state of cultivation and commercial prosperity, with natural advantages not surpassed in any country. Nature, however, still maintains her sway in some parts, especially where pine-barrens and swamps prevail. The territory of the United States covers an area of 2,963,666 *square miles, about one-half of which is capable of producing everything that is useful to man, but not more than a twenty-sixth part of it has been cleared. The climate is generally healthy, the soil fertile, abounding in mineral treasures, and it possesses every advantage from navigable rivers and excellent harbors.* .....MRS. SOMERVILLE.



NEW YORK:
WILLIAM GOWANS.

1869.

5

Not entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1869, by

W. GOWANS,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

J. MUNSELL, PRINTER,
ALBANY.

DEDICATED

TO

THE MEMORY

OF

LORD BALTIMORE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The subscriber announces to the public, that he intends publishing a series of works, relating to the history, literature, biography, antiquities and curiosities of the Continent of America. To be entitled

GOWANS' BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA.

The books to form this collection, will chiefly consist of reprints from old and scarce works, difficult to be produced in this country, and often also of very rare occurrence in Europe; occasionally an original work will be introduced into the series, designed to throw light upon some obscure point of American history, or to elucidate the biography of some of the distinguished men of our land. Faithful reprints of every work published will be given to the public; nothing will be added, except in the way of notes, or introduction, which will be presented entirely distinct from the body of the work. They will be brought out in the best style, both as to type, press work and paper, and in such a manner as to make them well worthy a place in any gentleman's library.

A part will appear about once in every six months, or oftener, if the public taste demand it; each part forming an entire work, either an original production, or a reprint of some valuable, and at the same time scarce tract. From eight or twelve parts will form a handsome octavo volume, which the publisher is well assured, will be esteemed entitled to a high rank in every collection of American history and literature.

Should reasonable encouragement be given, the whole collection may in the course of no long period of time become not less voluminous, and quite as valuable to the student in American history, as the celebrated Harleian Miscellany is now to the student and lover of British historical antiquities.

W. GOWANS, *Publisher.*

INTRODUCTION.

GEORGE ALSOP, the author of this curious tract, was born according to the inscription on his portrait, in 1638. He served a two years' apprenticeship to some trade in London, but seems to have been wild enough. His portrait and his language alike bespeak the rollicking roysterer of the days of the restoration, thoroughly familiar with all the less reputable haunts of London. He expresses a hearty contempt for Cromwell and his party, and it may be that the fate which confined him to a four years' servitude in Maryland was an order of transportation issued in the name of the commonwealth of England. He speaks disdainfully of the "mighty low and distracted life" of such as could not pay their passage, then, according to *Leah and Rachel* (p. 14), generally six pounds, as though want of money was not in his case the cause of his emigrating from England. He gives the letters he wrote to his family and friends on starting, but omits the date, although from allusions to the death of Cromwell in a letter dated at Gravesend, September 7th, he evidently sailed in 1658, the protector having died on the 3d of September in that year.

In Maryland he fell to the lot of Thomas Stockett, Esq., one of three brothers who came to Maryland in 1658,

perhaps at the same time as Alsop, and settled originally it would seem in Baltimore county. It was on this estate that Alsop spent the four years which enabled him to write the following tract. He speaks highly of his treatment and the abundance that reigned in the Stockett mansion.

Alsop's book appeared in 1666. One of the laudatory verses that preface it is dated January, 1665 ($\frac{5}{6}$), and as it would appear that he did not remain in Maryland after the expiration of his four years, except perhaps for a short time in consequence of a fit of sickness to which he alludes, he probably returned to London to resume his old career.

Of his subsequent life nothing is known, and though Allison ascribes to him a volume of Sermons, we may safely express our grave doubts whether the author of this tract can be suspected of anything of the kind.

The book, written in a most extravagant style, contains no facts as to the stirring events in Maryland history which preceded its date, and in view, doubtless, of the still exasperated state of public feeling, seems to have studiously avoided all allusion to so unattractive a subject. As an historical tract it derives its chief value from the portion which comprises its *Relation of the Susquehanna Indians.*

The object for which the tract was issued seems evident. It was designed to stimulate emigration to Maryland, and is written in a vulgar style to suit the class it was to reach. While from its dedication to Lord Baltimore, and the merchant adventurers, we may infer that it was paid for by them, in order to encourage emigration, especially of redemptioners.

Much of the early emigration to America was effected by what was called the redemption system. Under this, one disposed to emigrate, but unable to raise the £6, entered into a contract in the following form, with a merchant adventurer, ship owner or ship master, and occasionally with a gentleman emigrant of means, under which the latter gave him his passage and supplies:

The Forme of Binding a Servant.

[From *A Relation of Maryland*, &c., 1635.]

This indenture made the.....day of.....in the.....yeere of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles &c betweene.....of the one party, and.....on the other party, Witnesseth that the said.....doth hereby covenant, promise and grant to and with the said.....his Executors and Assignes, to serve him from the day of the date hereof, vntill his first and next arrivall in Maryland, and after for and during the tearme of.....yeeres, in such service and employment as the said.....or his assignes shall there employ him, according to the custome of the countrey in the like kind. In consideration whereof, the said.....doth promise and grant, to and with the said.....to pay for his passing and to find him with Meat, Drinke, Apparell and Lodging, with other necessaries during the said terme; and at the end of the said terme, to give him one whole yeeres provision of Corne and fifty acres of Land, according to the order of the countrey. In witnesse whereof, the said.....hath hereunto put his hand and seale the day and yeere above written.

Sealed and delivered }
in the presence of }

The term of service, at first limited to five years (*Relation of Maryland*, 1635, p. 63), was subsequently reduced to four (Act of 1638, &c.), and so remained into the next

century (Act of April, 1715). Thus a woman in the *Sot Weed Factor*, after speaking of her life in England, says:

> Not then a slave for twice two year,
> My cloaths were fashionably new,
> Nor were my shifts of linnen Blue;
> But things are changed; now at the Hoe,
> I daily work and Barefoot go,
> In weeding Corn or feeding Swine,
> I spend my melancholy Time.

Disputes arose as to the time when the term began, and it was finally fixed at the anchoring of the vessel in the province, but not more than fourteen days were to be allowed for anchoring after they passed the Capes (Act of 1715). When these agreements were made with the merchant adventurer, ship owner or ship captain, the servants were sold at auctions, which were conducted on the principle of our tax sales, the condition being the payment of the advances, and the bidding being for the term of service, descending from the legal limit according to his supposed value as a mechanic or hand, the best man being taken for the shortest term. Where the emigrants made their agreement with the gentleman emigrant, they proceeded at once to the land he took up, and in the name of the servant the planter took up at least one hundred acres of land, fifty of which, under the agreement, he conveyed to the servant at the expiration of his term of service.

Alsop seems to have made an agreement, perhaps on the voyage, with Thomas Stockett, Esq., as his first letter from America mentions his being in the service of that gentleman. His last letter is dated at Gravesend, the 7th of September, and his first in Maryland January 17 (1659), making a voyage of four months, which he loosely calls five, and describes as "a blowing and dangerous passage."

Through the kindness of George Lynn Lachlin Davis, Esq., I have been enabled to obtain from J. Shaaf Stockett, Esq., a descendant of Captain Stockett, some details as to his ancestor, the master of our author, during his four years' servitude, which was not very grievous to him, for he says, "had I known my yoak would have been so easie (as I conceive it will) I would have been here long before now, rather than to have dwelt under the pressure of a Rebellious and Trayterous government so long as I did."

A manuscript statement made some years later by one Joseph Tilly, states: "About or in y^e^ year of o^r^ Lord 1667 or 8 I became acquainted w^th^ 4 Gent^n^ y^t^ were brethren & then dwellers here in Maryland the elder of them went by y^e^ name of Coll^o^ Lewis Stockett & y^e^ second by y^e^ name of Capt^n^ Thomas Stockett, y^e^ third was Doct^r^ Francis Stockett & y^e^ Fourth Brother was M^r^ Henry Stockett. These men were but y^n^ newly seated or seating in Anne Arunndell County & they had much business w^h^ the Lord Baltimore then pp^etor^ of y^e^ Provinces, my house standing convenient they were often entertained there: they told mee y^t^ they were Kentish men or Men of Kent & y^t^ for that they had been concerned for King Charles y^e^ first, were out of favour w^th^ y^e^ following Governm^t^ they Mortgaged a Good an estate to follow King Charles the second in his exile & at their Return they had not money to redeem their mortgage, w^ch^ was y^e^ cause of their coming hither. JOSEPH TILLY."

Of the brothers, who are said to have arrived in the spring or summer of 1658, only Captain Thomas Stockett remained in Maryland, the others having, according to family tradition, returned to England. As stated in the

document just given, they settled in Anne Arundell county, and on the 19th of July, 1669, "Obligation," a tract of 664 acres of land was patented to Captain Thomas Stockett, and a part still after the lapse of nearly two centuries remains in the family, being owned by Frank H. Stockett, Esq., of the Annapolis bar.

By his wife Mary (*Wells* it is supposed), Captain Thomas Stockett had one son, Thomas, born April 17, 1667, from whose marriage with Mary, daughter of Thomas Sprigg, of West River, gentleman (March 12, 1689), and subsequent marriage with Damarris Welch, the Stocketts of Maryland, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey are descended.

The arms of this branch, as given in the family archives, are "Or a Lyon rampant sable armed and Langued Gules a cheife of y^{e} second a castle Tripple towred argent betwixt two Beausants — to y^{e} crest upon a helm on a wreath of y^{e} colours, a Lyon Proper segeant supporte on a stock ragged and trunked argent Borne by the name of Stockett with a mantle Gules doubled Argent." These agree with the arms given by Burke as the arms of the Stocketts of St. Stephens, county of Kent.

Thomas Stockett's will, dated April 23, 1671, was proved on the 4th of May in the same year, so that his death must have occurred within the ten intervening days. He left his estate to his wife for life, then his lands to his son Thomas, and his posthumous child if a son, and his personal estate to be divided among his daughters. His executors were his brothers Francis and Henry and his brother (in-law) Richard Wells. His dispositions of property are brief, much of the will consisting of pious expressions and wishes.

To return to the early Maryland emigration, at the time there was evident need for some popular tract to remove a prejudice that had been created against that colony, especially in regard to the redemptioners. The condition of those held for service in Maryland had been represented as pitiable indeed, the labor intolerable, the usage bad, the diet hard, and that no beds were allowed but the bare boards. Such calumnies had already been refuted in 1656 by Hammond, in his *Leah and Rachel.* Yet it would seem that ten years later the proprietor of Maryland found it necessary to give Alsop's flattering picture as a new antidote.

The original tract is reproduced so nearly in fac simile here that little need be said about it. The original is a very small volume, the printed matter on the page being only $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $4\frac{7}{8}$. (See note No. 1).

At the end are two pages of advertisements headed "These Books, with others, are Printed for Peter Dring, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sun in the Poultrey, next door to the Rose Tavern."

Among the books are Eliana, Holesworth's Valley of Vision, Robotham's Exposition of Solomon's Song, N. Byfields' Marrow of the Oracle of God, Pheteplace's Scrutinia Sacra, Featly Tears in Time of Pestilence, Templum Musicum by Joannes Henricus Alstedius, two cook books, a jest book, Troads Englished, and ends with A Comment upon the Two Tales of our Renowned Poet Sir Jeffray Chaucer, Knight.

At the end of this is the following by way of erratum: "Courteous Reader. In the first Epistle Dedicatory, for Felton read Feltham."



View here the Shadow whose Ingenious Hand
Hath drawne exact the Province Mary Land
Display'd her Glory in such Scœnes of Witt
That those that read must fall in Love with it
For which his Labour hee deserves the praise
As well as Poets doe the wreath of Bays .

Anno Dõ. 1666. Ætatis Suæ 28. H.W.

AM. PHOTO-LITHOGR. CO. (OSBORNE'S PROCESS.

A

CHARACTER

Of the PROVINCE of

MARY-LAND,

Wherein is Deſcribed in four diſtinct Parts, (*Viz.*)

I. *The Scituation, and plenty of the Province.*

II. *The Laws, Cuſtoms, and natural Demeanor of the Inhabitant.*

III. *The worſt and beſt Vſage of a Mary-Land Servant, opened in view.*

IV. *The Traffique, and Vendable Commodities of the Countrey.*

ALSO

A ſmall *Treatiſe* on the Wilde and Naked INDIANS (or *Suſquehanokes*) of *Mary-Land*, their Cuſtoms, Manners, Abſurdities, & Religion.

Together with a Collection of Hiſtorical LETTERS.

By GEORGE ALSOP.

London, Printed by *T. J.* for *Peter Dring*, at the ſign of the Sun in the *Poultrey*; 1666.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

CÆCILIUS LORD BALTEMORE, (see note No. 2)

Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of *Mary-Land* and *Avalon* (see note No. 3) in *America.*

My Lord,

I Have adventured on your Lordships acceptance by guess; if presumption has led me into an Error that deserves correction, I heartily beg Indempnity, and resolve to repent soundly for it, and do so no more. What I present I know to be true, Experientia docet; It being an infallible Maxim, *That there is no Globe like the occular and experimental view of a Countrey.* And had not Fate by a necessary imployment, consin'd me within the narrow walks of a four years Servitude, and by degrees led me through the most intricate and dubious paths of this Countrey, by a commanding and undeniable Enjoyment, I could not, nor should I ever have undertaken to have written a line of this nature.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

If I have wrote or composed any thing that's wilde and confused, it is because I am so my self, and the world, as far as I can perceive, is not much out of the same trim; therefore I resolve, if I am brought to the Bar of *Common Law* for any thing I have done here, to plead *Non compos mentis*, to save my Bacon.

There is an old Saying in English, *He must rise betimes that would please every one.* And I am afraid I have lain so long a bed, that I think I shall please no body; if it must be so, I cannot help it. But as *Feltham* (see note No. 4) in his *Resolves* says, *In things that must be, 'tis good to be resolute;* And therefore what Destiny has ordained, I am resolved to wink, and stand to it. So leaving your Honour to more serious meditations, I subscribe my self,

My Lord

Your Lordship most

Humble Servant,

GEORGE ALSOP.

To all the Merchant Adventurers for MARY-LAND, together with those Commanders of Ships that saile into that Province.

SIRS,

You *are both Adventurers, the one of Estate, the other of Life: I could tell you I am an Adventurer too, if I durst presume to come into your Company. I have ventured to come abroad in Print, and if I should be laughed at for my good meaning, it would so break the credit of my understanding, that I should never dare to shew my face upon the Exchange of (conceited) Wits again.*

This dish of Discourse was intended for you at first, but it was manners to let my Lord have the first cut, the Pye being his own. I beseech you accept of the matter as 'tis drest, only to stay your stomachs, and I'le promise you the next shall be better done, 'Tis all as I can serve you in at present, and it may be questionable whether I have served you in this or no. Here I present you with A Character of Mary-Land, *it may be you will say 'tis weakly done, if you do I cannot help it, 'tis as well as I could do it, considering several Obstacles that like blocks were thrown in my way to hinder my proceeding: The major part thereof was written in the intermitting time of my sickness, therefore I hope the afflicting weakness of*

my Microcosm may plead a just excuse for some imperfections of my pen. I protest what I have writ is from an experimental knowledge of the Country, and not from any imaginary supposition. If I am blamed for what I have done too much, it is the first, and I will irrevocably promise it shall be the last. There's a Maxim upon Tryals at Assizes, That if a thief be taken upon the first fault, if it be not to hainous, they only burn him in the hand and let him go (see note No. 5) : *So I desire you to do by me, if you find any thing that bears a criminal absurdity in it, only burn me for my first fact and let me go. But I am affraid I have kept you too long in the Entry, I shall desire you therefore to come in and sit down.*

G. Alsop.

THE

PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

The Reason why I appear in this place is, lest the general Reader should conclude I have nothing to say for my self; and truly he's in the right on't, for I have but little to say (for my self) at this time: For I have had so large a Journey, and so heavy a Burden to bring *Mary-Land* into *England*, that I am almost out of breath: I'le promise you after I am come to my self, you shall hear more of me. Good Reader, because you see me make a brief Apologetical excuse for my self, don't judge me; for I am so self-conceited of my own merits, that I almost think I want none. *De Lege non judicandum ex solâ linea*, saith the Civilian; We must not pass judgement upon a Law by one line: And because we see but a small Bush at a Tavern door, conclude there is no Canary (see note No. 6). For as in our vulgar Resolves 'tis said, *A good face needs no Band, and an ill one deserves none:* So the French Proverb sayes, Bon Vien il n'a faut point de Ensigne, Good Wine needs no Bush. I suppose by this time some of my speculative observers

have judged me vainglorious; but if they did but rightly consider me, they would not be so censorious. For I dwell so far from Neighbors, that if I do not praise my self, no body else will: And since I am left alone, I am resolved to summon the *Magna Charta* of Fowles to the Bar for my excuse, and by their irrevocable Statutes plead my discharge. *For its an ill Bird will befoule her own Nest:* Besides, I have a thousand *Billings-gate* (see note No. 7) Collegians that will give in their testimony, *That they never knew a Fish-woman cry stinking Fish.* Thus leaving the Nostrils of the Citizens Wives to demonstrate what they please as to that, and thee (Good Reader) to say what thou wilt, I bid thee Farewel.

GEO. ALSOP.

THE

AUTHOR

TO HIS

BOOK.

WHen first *Apollo* got my brain with Childe,
He made large promise never to beguile,
But like an honest Father, he would keep
Whatever Issue from my Brain did creep:
With that I gave consent, and up he threw
Me on a Bench, and strangely he did do;
Then every week he daily came to see
How his new Physick still did work with me.
And when he did perceive he'd don the feat,
Like an unworthy man he made retreat,
Left me in desolation, and where none
Compassionated when they heard me groan.
What could he judge the Parish then would think,
To see me fair, his Brat as black as Ink?
If they had eyes, they'd swear I were no Nun,
But got with Child by some black *Africk* Son,
And so condemn me for my Fornication,
To beat them Hemp to stifle half the Nation.
Well, since 'tis so, I'le alter this base Fate,
And lay his Bastard at some Noble's Gate;
Withdraw my self from Beadles, and from such,
Who would give twelve pence I were in their clutch:

Then, who can tell? this Child which I do hide,
May be in time a Small-beer Col'nel *Pride* (see note
But while I talk, my business it is dumb, [No. 8).
I must lay double-clothes unto thy Bum,
Then lap thee warm, and to the world commit
The Bastard Off-spring of a New-born wit.
Farewel, poor Brat, thou in a monstrous World,
In swadling bands, thus up and down art hurl'd;
There to receive what Destiny doth contrive,
Either to perish, or be sav'd alive.
Good Fate protect thee from a Criticks power,
For If he comes, thou'rt gone in half an hour,
Stiff'd and blasted, 'tis their usual way,
To make that Night, which is as bright as Day.
For if they once but wring, and skrew their mouth,
Cock up their Hats, and set the point Du-South,
Armes all a kimbo, and with belly strut,
As if they had *Parnassus* in their gut:
These are the Symtomes of the murthering fall
Of my poor Infant, and his burial.
Say he should miss thee, and some ign'rant Asse
Should find thee out, as he along doth pass,
It were all one, he'd look into thy Tayle,
To see if thou wert Feminine or Male;
When he'd half starv'd thee, for to satisfie
His peeping Ign'rance, he'd then let thee lie;
And vow by's wit he ne're could understand,
The Heathen dresses of another Land:
Well, 'tis no matter, wherever such as he
Knows one grain, more than his simplicity.
Now, how the pulses of my senses beat,
To think the rigid Fortune thou wilt meet;

Asses and captious Fools, not six in ten
Of thy Spectators will be real men,
To Umpire up the badness of the cause,
And screen my weakness from the rav'nous Laws,
Of those that will undoubted sit to see
How they might blast this new-born Infancy:
If they should burn him, they'd conclude hereafter,
'Twere too good death for him to dye a Martyr;
And if they let him live, they think it will
Be but a means for to encourage ill,
And bring in time some strange *Antipod'ans*,
A thousand Leagues beyond *Philippians*,
To storm our Wits; therefore he must not rest,
But shall be hang'd, for all he has been prest:
Thus they conclude. — My Genius comforts give,
In Resurrection he will surely live.

To my Friend Mr. GEORGE ALSOP, on his Character of MARY-LAND.

WHo such odd nookes of Earths great mass describe,
Prove their descent from old Columbus *tribe:*
Some Boding augur did his Name devise,
Thy Genius too cast in th' same mould and size;
His Name predicted he would be a Rover,
And hidden places of this Orb discover;
He made relation of that World in gross,
Thou the particulars retail'st to us:
By this first Peny of thy fancy we
Discover what thy greater Coines will be;
This Embryo thus well polisht doth presage,
The manly Atchievements of its future age.
Auspicious winds blow gently on this spark,
Untill its flames discover what's yet dark;
Mean while this short Abridgement we embrace,
Expecting that thy busy soul will trace
Some Mines at last which may enrich the World,
And all that poverty may be in oblivion hurl'd.
Zoilus is dumb, for thou the mark hast hit,
By interlacing History with Wit:
Thou hast described its superficial Treasure,
Anatomiz'd its bowels at thy leasure;
That MARY-LAND *to thee may duty owe,*
Who to the World dost all her Glory shew;
Then thou shalt make the Prophesie fall true,
Who fill'st the World (like th' Sea) with knowledge new.

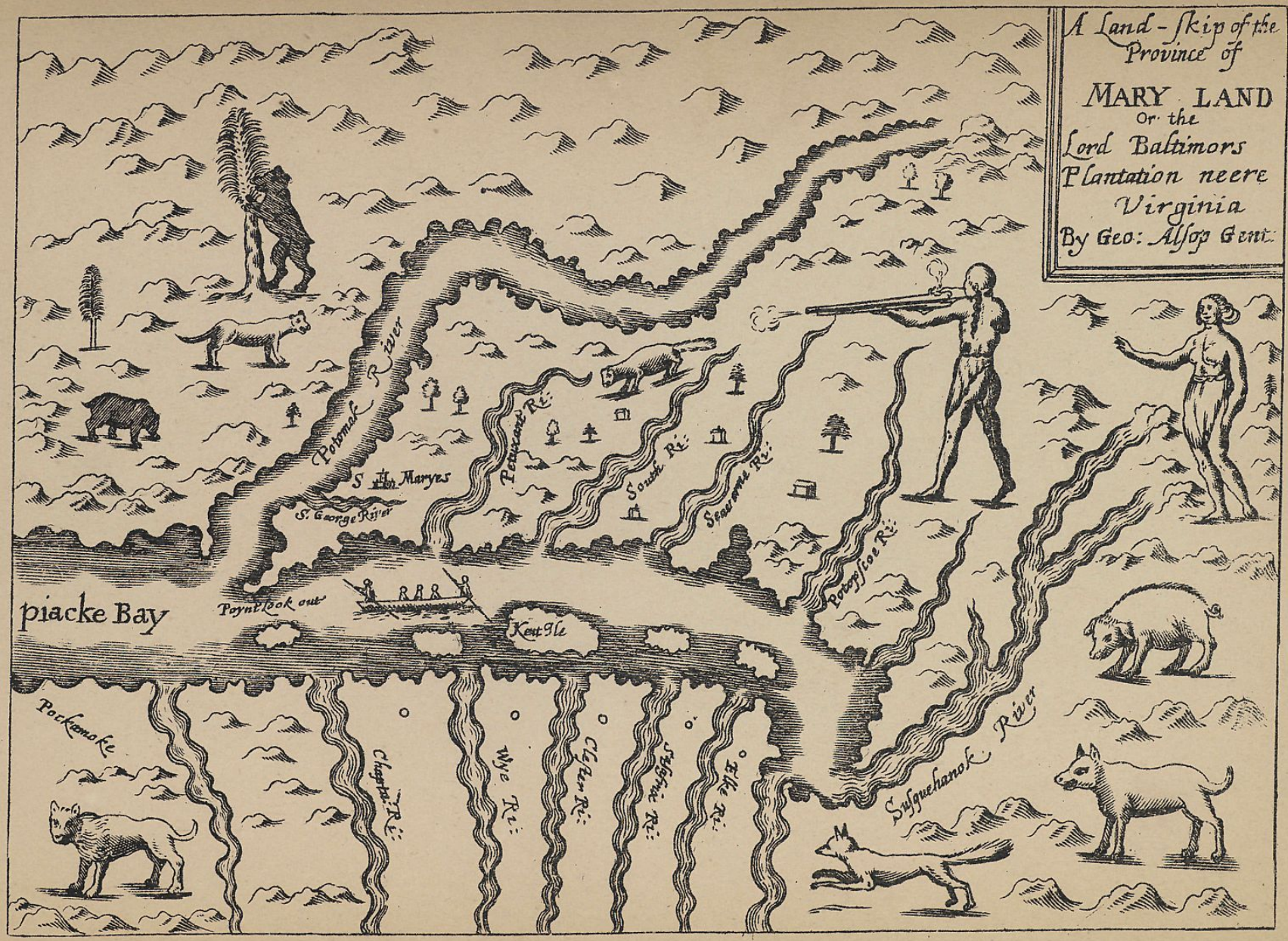
WILLIAM BOGHERST. (See note No. 9.)

To my Friend Mr. GEORGE ALSOP, on his Character of MARY-LAND.

THis *plain, yet pithy and concise Description*
Of Mary-Lands *plentious and sedate condition,*
With other things herein by you set forth,
To shew its Rareness, and declare its Worth;
Compos'd in such a time, when most men were
Smitten with Sickness, or surpriz'd with Fear,
Argues a Genius good, and Courage stout,
In bringing this Design so well about:
Such generous Freedom waited on thy brain,
The Work was done in midst of greatest pain;
And matters flow'd so swiftly from thy source,
Nature design'd thee (sure) for such Discourse.
Go on then with thy Work so well begun,
Let it come forth, and boldly see the Sun;
Then shall't be known to all, that from thy Youth
Thou heldst it Noble to maintain the Truth,
'Gainst all the Rabble-rout, that yelping stand,
To cast aspersions on thy MARY-LAND:
But this thy Work shall vindicate its Fame,
And as a Trophy memorize thy Name,
So if without a Tomb thou buried be,
This Book's a lasting Monument for thee.

H. W., Master of Arts. (See note No. 10).

From my Study,
Jan. 10, 1665.



Am. Photo-Lithographic Co. N.Y. (Osborne's Process)

A

CHARACTER

OF THE PROVINCE OF

MARY-LAND.

CHAP. I.

Of the situation and plenty of the Province of Mary-Land.

MARY-LAND is a Province situated upon the large extending bowels of *America*, under the Government of the Lord *Baltemore*, adjacent Northwardly upon the Confines of *New-England*, and neighbouring Southwardly upon *Virginia*, dwelling pleasantly upon the Bay of *Chæsapike* (see note No. 11), between the Degrees of 36 and 38, in the Zone temperate, and by Mathematical computation is eleven hundred and odd Leagues in Longitude from *England*, being within her own imbraces extraordinary pleasant and fertile. Pleasant, in respect of the multitude of Navigable Rivers and Creeks that conveniently and most profitably lodge within the armes of her green, spreading, and delightful Woods; whose natural womb (by her plenty) maintains and preserves the several diversities of Animals that rangingly inhabit her Woods; as she doth otherwise generously fructifie

this piece of Earth with almost all sorts of Vegetables, as well Flowers with their varieties of colours and smells, as Herbes and Roots with their several effects and operative virtues, that offer their benefits daily to supply the want of the Inhabitant whene're their necessities shall *Sub-pœna* them to wait on their commands. So that he, who out of curiosity desires to see the Landskip of the Creation drawn to the life, or to read Natures universal Herbal without book, may with the Opticks of a discreet discerning, view *Mary-Land* drest in her green and fragrant Mantle of the Spring. Neither do I think there is any place under the Heavenly altitude, or that has footing or room upon the circular Globe of this world, that can parallel this fertile and pleasant piece of ground in its multiplicity, or rather Natures extravagancy of a superabounding plenty. For so much doth this Country increase in a swelling Spring-tide of rich variety and diversities of all things, not only common provisions that supply the reaching stomach of man with a satisfactory plenty, but also extends with its liberality and free convenient benefits to each sensitive faculty, according to their several desiring Appetites. So that had Nature made it her business, on purpose to have found out a situation for the Soul of profitable Ingenuity, she could not have fitted herself better in the traverse of the whole Universe, nor in convenienter terms have told man, *Dwell here, live plentifully and be rich.*

The Trees, Plants, Fruits, Flowers, and Roots that grow here in *Mary-Land*, are the only Emblems or Hieroglyphicks of our Adamitical or Primitive situation, as well for their variety as odoriferous smells, together with their vertues, according to their several effects, kinds and properties, which still bear the Effigies of Innocency according to their original Grafts; which by their dumb vegetable Oratory, each hour speaks to the Inhabitant in silent acts, That they need not look for any other Terrestrial Paradice, to suspend or tyre their curiosity upon, while she is extant. For within her doth dwell so much of variety, so much of natural plenty, that there is not any thing that is or may be rare, but it inhabits within this plentious soyle: So that those parts of the Creation that have borne the Bell away (for many ages) for a vegetable plentiousness, must now in silence strike and vayle all, and whisper softly in the auditual parts of *Mary-Land*, that *None but she in this dwells singular;* and that as well for that she doth exceed in those Fruits, Plants, Trees and Roots, that dwell and grow in their several Clymes or habitable parts of the Earth besides, as the rareness and super-excellency of her own glory, which she flourishly abounds in, by the abundancy of reserved Rarities, such as the remainder of the World (with all its speculative art) never bore any occular testimony of as yet. I shall forbear to particularize those several sorts of vegetables that flourishingly grows here, by

reason of the vast tediousness that will attend upon the description, which therefore makes them much more fit for an Herbal, than a small Manuscript or History. (See note No. 12).

As for the wilde Animals of this Country, which loosely inhabits the Woods in multitudes, it is impossible to give you an exact description of them all, considering the multiplicity as well as the diversity of so numerous an extent of Creatures: But such as has fallen within the compass or prospect of my knowledge, those you shall know of; *videlicet*, the Deer, because they are oftner seen, and more participated of by the Inhabitants of the Land, whose acquaintance by a customary familiarity becomes much more common than the rest of Beasts that inhabit the Woods by using themselves in Herds about the Christian Plantations. Their flesh, which in some places of this Province is the common provision the Inhabitants feed on, and which through the extreme glut and plenty of it, being daily killed by the *Indians*, and brought in to the *English*, as well as that which is killed by the Christian Inhabitant, that doth it more for recreation, than for the benefit they reap by it. I say, the flesh of Venison becomes (as to food) rather denyed, than any way esteemed or desired. And this I speak from an experimental knowledge; For when I was under a Command, and debarr'd of a four years ranging Liberty in the Province of *Mary-Land*, the Gentleman whom I served my conditional and pre-

fixed time withall, had at one time in his house four-score Venisons, besides plenty of other provisions to serve his Family nine months, they being but seven in number; so that before this Venison was brought to a period by eating, it so nauseated our appetites and stomachs, that plain bread was rather courted and desired than it.

The Deer (see note No. 13) here neither in shape nor action differ from our Deer in *England:* the Park they traverse their ranging and unmeasured walks in, is bounded and impanell'd in with no other pales than the rough and billowed Ocean: They are also mighty numerous in the Woods, and are little or not at all affrighted at the face of a man, but (like the Does of *Whetstons* Park) (see note No. 14) though their hydes are not altogether so gaudy to extract an admiration from the beholder, yet they will stand (all most) till they be scratcht.

As for the Wolves, Bears, and Panthers (see note No. 15) of this Country, they inhabit commonly in great multitudes up in the remotest parts of the Continent; yet at some certain time they come down near the Plantations, but do little hurt or injury worth noting, and that which they do is of so degenerate and low a nature, (as in reference to the fierceness and heroick vigour that dwell in the same kind of Beasts in other Countries), that they are hardly worth mentioning: For the highest of their designs and circumventing reaches is but cowardly and base, only

to steal a poor Pigg, or kill a lost and half starved Calf. The Effigies of a man terrifies them dreadfully, for they no sooner espy him but their hearts are at their mouths, and the spurs upon their heels, they (having no more manners than Beasts) gallop away, and never bid them farewell that are behind them.

The Elke, the Cat of the Mountain, the Rackoon, the Fox, the Beaver, the Otter, the Possum, the Hare, the Squirril, the Monack, the Musk-Rat (see note No. 16), and several others (whom I'le omit for brevity sake) inhabit here in *Mary-Land* in several droves and troops, ranging the Woods at their pleasure.

The meat of most of these Creatures is good for eating, yet of no value nor esteem here, by reason of the great plenty of other provisions, and are only kill'd by the *Indians* of the Country for their Hydes and Furrs, which become very profitable to those that have the right way of traffiquing for them, as well as it redounds to the *Indians* that take the pains to catch them, and to slay and dress their several Hydes, selling and disposing them for such commodities as their Heathenish fancy delights in.

As for those Beasts that were carried over at the first seating of the Country, to stock and increase the situation, as Cows, Horses, Sheep and Hogs (see note No. 17), they are generally tame, and use near home, especially the Cows, Sheep and Horses. The Hogs, whose increase is innumerable in the Woods, do dis-

frequent home more than the rest of Creatures that are look'd upon as tame, yet with little trouble and pains they are slain and made provision of. Now they that will with a right Historical Survey, view the Woods of *Mary-Land* in this particular, as in reference to Swine, must upon necessity judge this Land lineally descended from the *Gadarean* Territories. (See note No. 18.)

Mary-Land (I must confess) cannot boast of her plenty of Sheep here, as other Countries; not but that they will thrive and increase here, as well as in any place of the World besides, but few desire them, because they commonly draw down the Wolves among the Plantations, as well by the sweetness of their flesh, as by the humility of their nature, in not making a defensive resistance against the rough dealing of a ravenous Enemy. They who for curiosity will keep Sheep, may expect that after the Wolves have breathed themselves all day in the Woods to sharpen their stomachs, they will come without fail and sup with them at night, though many times they surfeit themselves with the sawce that's dish'd out of the muzzle of a Gun, and so in the midst of their banquet (poor Animals) they often sleep with their Ancestors.

Fowls of all sorts and varieties dwell at their several times and seasons here in *Mary-Land*. The Turkey, the Woodcock, the Pheasant, the Partrich, the Pigeon, and others, especially the Turkey, whom I have seen

in whole hundreds in flights in the Woods of *Mary-Land*, being an extraordinary fat Fowl, whose flesh is very pleasant and sweet. These Fowls that I have named are intayled from generation to generation to the Woods. The Swans, the Geese and Ducks (with other Water-Fowl) derogate in this point of setled residence; for they arrive in millionous multitudes in *Mary-Land* about the middle of *September*, and take their winged farewell about the midst of *March* (see note No. 19): But while they do remain, and beleagure the borders of the shoar with their winged Dragoons, several of them are summoned by a Writ of *Fieri facias*, to answer their presumptuous contempt upon a Spit.

As for Fish, which dwell in the watry tenements of the deep, and by a providential greatness of power, is kept for the relief of several Countries in the world (which would else sink under the rigid enemy of want), here in *Mary-Land* is a large sufficiency, and plenty of almost all sorts of Fishes, which live and inhabit within her several Rivers and Creeks, far beyond the apprehending or crediting of those that never saw the same, which with very much ease is catched, to the great refreshment of the Inhabitants of the Province.

All sorts of Grain, as Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oates, Pease, besides several others that have their original and birth from the fertile womb of this Land (and no where else), they all grow, increase, and thrive here

in *Mary-Land*, without the chargable and laborious manuring of the Land with Dung; increasing in such a measure and plenty, by the natural richness of the Earth, with the common, beneficial and convenient showers of rain that usually wait upon the several Fields of Grain (by a natural instinct), so that Famine (the dreadful Ghost of penury and want) is never known with his pale visage to haunt the Dominions of *Mary-Land*. (See note No. 20).

Could'st thou (O Earth) live thus obscure, and now
Within an Age, shew forth thy plentious brow
Of rich variety, gilded with fruitful Fame,
That (Trumpet-like) doth Heraldize thy Name,
And tells the World there is a Land now found,
That all Earth's Globe can't parallel its Ground?
Dwell, and be prosperous, and with thy plenty feed
The craving Carkesses of those Souls that need.

CHAP. II.

Of the Government and Natural Disposition of the People.

MARY-LAND, not from the remoteness of her situation, but from the regularity of her well ordered Government, may (without sin, I think) be called *Singular:* And though she is not supported with such large Revenues as some of her Neighbours are, yet such is her wisdom in a reserved silence, and not in pomp, to shew her well-conditioned Estate, in relieving at a distance the proud poverty of those that wont be seen they want, as well as those which by undeniable necessities are drove upon the Rocks of pinching wants: Yet such a loathsome creature is a common and folding-handed Beggar, that upon the penalty of almost a perpetual working in Imprisonment, they are not to appear, nor lurk near our vigilant and laborious dwellings. The Country hath received a general spleen and antipathy against the very name and nature of it; and though there were no Law provided (as there is) to suppress it, I am certainly confident, there is none within the Province that would lower themselves so much below the dignity of men to beg, as long as limbs and life keep house together; so much is a vigilant industrious care esteem'd.

He that desires to see the real Platform of a quiet and sober Government extant, Superiority with a meek and yet commanding power sitting at the Helme, steering the actions of State quietly, through the multitude and diversity of Opinionous waves that diversly meet, let him look on *Mary-Land* with eyes admiring, and he'll then judge her, *The Miracle of this Age.*

Here the *Roman Catholick*, and the *Protestant Episcopal* (whom the world would perswade have proclaimed open Wars irrevocably against each other), contrarywise concur in an unanimous parallel of friendship, and inseparable love intayled into one another: All Inquisitions, Martyrdom, and Banishments are not so much as named, but unexpressably abhorr'd by each other.

The several Opinions and Sects that lodge within this Government, meet not together in mutinous contempts to disquiet the power that bears Rule, but with a reverend quietness obeys the legal commands of Authority. (See note No. 21). Here's never seen Five Monarchies in a Zealous Rebellion, opposing the Rights and Liberties of a true setled Government, or Monarchical Authority: Nor did I ever see (here in *Mary-Land*) any of those dancing Adamitical Sisters, that plead a primitive Innocency for their base obscenity, and naked deportment; but I conceive if some of them were there at some certain time of the year, between the Months of *January* and *February*,

when the winds blow from the North-West quarter of the world, that it would both cool, and (I believe) convert the hottest of these Zealots from their burning and fiercest concupiscence. (See note No. 22).

The Government of this Province doth continually, by all lawful means, strive to purge her Dominions from such base corroding humors, that would predominate upon the least smile of Liberty, did not the Laws check and bridle in those unwarranted and tumultuous Opinions. And truly, where a kingdom, State or Government, keeps or cuts down the weeds of destructive Opinions, there must certainly be a blessed harmony of quietness. And I really believe this Land or Government of *Mary-Land* may boast, that she enjoys as much quietness from the disturbance of Rebellious Opinions, as most States or Kingdoms do in the world: For here every man lives quietly, and follows his labour and imployment desiredly; and by the protection of the Laws, they are supported from those molestious troubles that ever attend upon the Commons of other States and Kingdoms, as well as from the Aquafortial operation of great and eating Taxes. Here's nothing to be levyed out of the Granaries of Corn; but contrarywise, by a Law every Domestick Governor of a Family is enjoyned to make or cause to be made so much Corn by a just limitation, as shall be sufficient for him and his Family (see note No. 23): So that by this wise and *Janus*-like providence, the thin-jawed Skeliton with his starv'd Carkess is never

seen walking the Woods of *Mary-Land* to affrighten Children.

Once every year within this Province is an Assembly called, and out of every respective County (by the consent of the people) there is chosen a number of men, and to them is deliver'd up the Grievances of the Country; and they maturely debate the matters, and according to their Consciences make Laws for the general good of the people; and where any former Law that was made, seems and is prejudicial to the good or quietness of the Land, it is repeal'd. These men that determine on these matters for the Republique, are called Burgesses, and they commonly sit in Junto about six weeks, being for the most part good ordinary Householders of the several Counties, which do more by a plain and honest Conscience, than by artificial Syllogisms drest up in gilded Orations. (See note No. 24).

Here Suits and Tryals in Law seldome hold dispute two Terms or Courts, but according as the Equity of the Cause appears is brought to a period. (See note No. 25). The *Temples* and *Grays-Inne* are clear out of fashion here: Marriot (see note No. 26) would sooner get a paunch-devouring meal for nothing, than for his invading Counsil. Here if the Lawyer had nothing else to maintain him but his bawling, he might button up his Chops, and burn his Buckrom Bag, or else hang it upon a pin untill its Antiquity had eaten it up with durt and dust: Then with a

Spade, like his Grandsire *Adam*, turn up the face of the Creation, purchasing his bread by the sweat of his brows, that before was got by the motionated Water-works of his jaws. So contrary to the Genius of the people, if not to the quiet Government of the Province, that the turbulent Spirit of continued and vexatious Law, with all its querks and evasions, is openly and most eagerly opposed, that might make matters either dubious, tedious, or troublesom. All other matters that would be ranging in contrary and improper Spheres, (in short) are here by the Power moderated, lower'd and subdued. All villanous Outrages that are committed in other States, are not so much as known here: A man may walk in the open Woods as secure from being externally dissected, as in his own house or dwelling. So hateful is a Robber, that if but once imagin'd to be so, he's kept at a distance, and shun'd as the Pestilential noysomness. (See note No. 27).

It is generally and very remarkably observed, That those whose Lives and Conversations have had no other gloss nor glory stampt on them in their own Country, but the stigmatization of baseness, were here (by the common civilities and deportments of the Inhabitants of this Province) brought to detest and loath their former actions. Here the Constable hath no need of a train of Holberteers (see note No. 28), that carry more Armour about them, than heart to guard him: Nor is he ever troubled to leave his

Feathered Nest to some friendly successor, while he is placing of his Lanthern-horn Guard at the end of some suspicious Street, to catch some Night-walker, or Batchelor of Leachery, that has taken his Degree three story high in a Bawdy-house. Here's no *Newgates* for pilfering Felons, nor *Ludgates* for Debtors, nor any *Bridewels* (see note No. 29) to lash the soul of Concupiscence into a chast Repentance. For as there is none of these Prisons in *Mary-Land*, so the merits of the Country deserves none, but if any be foully vitious, he is so reserv'd in it, that he seldom or never becomes popular. Common Alehouses (whose dwellings are the only Receptacles of debauchery and baseness, and those Schools that trains up Youth, as well as Age, to ruine), in this Province there are none; neither hath Youth his swing or range in such a profuse and unbridled liberty as in other Countries; for from an antient Custom at the primitive seating of the place, the Son works as well as the Servant (an excellent cure for untam'd Youth), so that before they eat their bread, they are commonly taught how to earn it; which makes them by that time Age speaks them capable of receiving that which their Parents indulgency is ready to give them, and which partly is by their own laborious industry purchased, they manage it with such a serious, grave and watching care, as if they had been Masters of Families, trained up in that domestick and governing power from their Cradles. These Christian Natives of the Land, espe-

cially those of the Masculine Sex, are generally conveniently confident, reservedly subtile, quick in apprehending, but slow in resolving; and where they spy profit sailing towards them with the wings of a prosperous gale, there they become much familiar. The Women differ something in this point, though not much: They are extreme bashful at the first view, but after a continuance of time hath brought them acquainted, there they become discreetly familiar, and are much more talkative then men. All Complemental Courtships, drest up in critical Rarities, are meer strangers to them, plain wit comes nearest their Genius; so that he that intends to Court a *Mary-Land* Girle, must have something more than the Tautologies of a long-winded speech to carry on his design, or else he may (for ought I know) fall under the contempt of her frown, and his own windy Oration. (See note No. 30).

One great part of the Inhabitants of this Province are desiredly Zealous, great pretenders to Holiness; and where any thing appears that carries on the Frontispiece of its Effigies the stamp of Religion, though fundamentally never so imperfect, they are suddenly taken with it, and out of an eager desire to any thing that's new, not weighing the sure matter in the Ballance of Reason, are very apt to be catcht. (See note No. 31). *Quakerism* is the only Opinion that bears the Bell away (see note No. 32): The *Anabaptists* (see note No. 33) have little to say here,

as well as in other places, since the Ghost of *John* of *Leyden* haunts their Conventicles. The *Adamite*, *Ranter*, and *Fift-Monarchy men*, *Mary-Land* cannot, nay will not digest within her liberal stomach such corroding morsels: So that this Province is an utter Enemy to blasphemous and zealous Imprecations, drain'd from the Lymbeck of hellish and damnable Spirits, as well as profuse prophaness, that issues from the prodigality of none but cract-brain Sots.

'Tis said the Gods lower down that Chain above,
That tyes both Prince and Subject up in Love;
And if this Fiction of the Gods be true,
Few, Mary-Land, *in this can boast but you:*
Live ever blest, and let those Clouds that do
Eclipse most States, be always Lights to you;
And dwelling so, you may for ever be
The only Emblem of Tranquility.

CHAP. III.

The necessariness of Servitude proved, with the common usage of Servants in Mary-Land, *together with their Priviledges.*

AS there can be no Monarchy without the Supremacy of a King and Crown, nor no King without Subjects, nor any Parents without it be by the fruitful off-spring of Children; neither can there be any Masters, unless it be by the inferior Servitude of those that dwell under them, by a commanding enjoynment: And since it is ordained from the original and superabounding wisdom of all things, That there should be Degrees and Diversities amongst the Sons of men, in acknowledging of a Superiority from Inferiors to Superiors; the Servant with a reverent and befitting Obedience is as liable to this duty in a measurable performance to him whom he serves, as the loyalest of Subjects to his Prince. Then since it is a common and ordained Fate, that there must be Servants as well as Masters, and that good Servitudes are those Colledges of Sobriety that checks in the giddy and wild-headed youth from his profuse and uneven course of life, by a limited constrainment, as well as it otherwise agrees with the moderate and discreet Servant: Why should there be such an exclusive

Obstacle in the minds and unreasonable dispositions of many people, against the limited time of convenient and necessary Servitude, when it is a thing so requisite, that the best of Kingdoms would be unhing'd from their quiet and well setled Government without it. Which levelling doctrine we here of *England* in this latter age (whose womb was truss'd out with nothing but confused Rebellion) have too much experienced, and was daily rung into the ears of the tumultuous Vulgar by the Bell-weather Sectaries of the Times: But (blessed be God) those Clouds are blown over, and the Government of the Kingdom coucht under a more stable form.

There is no truer Emblem of Confusion either in Monarchy or Domestick Governments, then when either the Subject, or the Servant, strives for the upper hand of his Prince, or Master, and to be equal with him, from whom he receives his present subsistance: Why then, if Servitude be so necessary that no place can be governed in order, nor people live without it, this may serve to tell those which prick up their ears and bray against it, That they are none but Asses, and deserve the Bridle of a strict commanding power to reine them in: For I'me certainly confident, that there are several Thousands in most Kingdoms of Christendom, that could not at all live and subsist, unless they had served some prefixed time, to learn either some Trade, Art, or Science, and by either of them to extract their present livelihood.

Then methinks this may stop the mouths of those that will undiscreetly compassionate them that dwell under necessary Servitudes; for let but Parents of an indifferent capacity in Estates, when their Childrens age by computation speak them seventeen or eighteen years old, turn them loose to the wide world, without a seven years working Apprenticeship (being just brought up to the bare formality of a little reading and writing) and you shall immediately see how weak and shiftless they'le be towards the maintaining and supporting of themselves; and (without either stealing or begging) their bodies like a Sentinel must continually wait to see when their Souls will be frighted away by the pale Ghost of a starving want.

Then let such, where Providence hath ordained to live as Servants, either in *England* or beyond Sea, endure the prefixed yoak of their limited time with patience, and then in a small computation of years, by an industrious endeavour, they may become Masters and Mistresses of Families themselves. And let this be spoke to the deserved praise of *Mary-Land*, That the four years I served there were not to me so slavish, as a two years Servitude of a Handicraft Apprenticeship was here in *London; Volenti enim nil difficile:* Not that I write this to seduce or delude any, or to draw them from their native soyle, but out of a love to my Countrymen, whom in the general I wish well to, and that the lowest of them may live in such a capacity of Estate, as that the bare interest of

their Livelihoods might not altogether depend upon persons of the greatest extendments.

Now those whose abilities here in *England* are capable of maintaining themselves in any reasonable and handsom manner, they had best so to remain, lest the roughness of the Ocean, together with the staring visages of the wilde Animals, which they may see after their arrival into the Country, may alter the natural dispositions of their bodies, that the stay'd and solid part that kept its motion by Doctor *Trigs* purgationary operation, may run beyond the byas of the wheel in a violent and laxative confusion.

Now contrarywise, they who are low, and make bare shifts to buoy themselves up above the shabby center of beggarly and incident casualties, I heartily could wish the removal of some of them into *Mary-Land*, which would make much better for them that stay'd behind, as well as it would advantage those that went.

They whose abilities cannot extend to purchase their own transportation into *Mary-Land* (and surely he that cannot command so small a sum for so great a matter, his life must needs be mighty low and dejected), I say they may for the debarment of a four years sordid liberty, go over into this Province and there live plentiously well. And what's a four years Servitude to advantage a man all the remainder of his dayes, making his predecessors happy in his suffi-

cient abilities, which he attained to partly by the restrainment of so small a time?

Now those that commit themselves into the care of the Merchant to carry them over, they need not trouble themselves with any inquisitive search touching their Voyage; for there is such an honest care and provision made for them all the time they remain aboard the Ship, and are sailing over, that they want for nothing that is necessary and convenient.

The Merchant commonly before they go aboard the Ship, or set themselves in any forwardness for their Voyage, has Conditions of Agreements drawn between him and those that by a voluntary consent become his Servants, to serve him, his Heirs or Assigns, according as they in their primitive acquaintance have made their bargain (see note No. 34), some two, some three, some four years; and whatever the Master or Servant tyes himself up to here in *England* by Condition, the Laws of the Province will force a performance of when they come there: Yet here is this Priviledge in it when they arrive, If they dwell not with the Merchant they made their first agreement withall, they may choose whom they will serve their prefixed time with; and after their curiosity has pitcht on one whom they think fit for their turn, and that they may live well withall, the Merchant makes an Assignment of the Indenture over to him whom they of their free will have chosen to be their Master, in the same nature as we here in *England* (and no

otherwise) turn over Covenant Servants or Apprentices from one Master to another. Then let those whose chaps are always breathing forth those filthy dregs of abusive exclamations, which are Lymbeckt from their sottish and preposterous brains, against this Country of *Mary-Land*, saying, That those which are transported over thither, are sold in open Market for Slaves, and draw in Carts like Horses; which is so damnable an untruth, that if they should search to the very Center of Hell, and enquire for a Lye of the most antient and damned stamp, I confidently believe they could not find one to parallel this: For know, That the Servants here in *Mary-Land* of all Colonies, distant or remote Plantations, have the least cause to complain, either for strictness of Servitude, want of Provisions, or need of Apparel: Five dayes and a half in the Summer weeks is the alotted time that they work in; and for two months, when the Sun predominates in the highest pitch of his heat, they claim an antient and customary Priviledge, to repose themselves three hours in the day within the house, and this is undeniably granted to them that work in the Fields.

In the Winter time, which lasteth three months (viz.), *December*, *January*, and *February*, they do little or no work or imployment, save cutting of wood to make good fires to sit by, unless their Ingenuity will prompt them to hunt the Deer, or Bear, or recreate themselves in Fowling, to slaughter the Swans, Geese, and Turkeys (which this Country affords in a most

plentiful manner): For every Servant has a Gun, Powder and Shot allowed him, to sport him withall on all Holidayes and leasurable times, if he be capable of using it, or be willing to learn.

Now those Servants which come over into this Province, being Artificers, they never (during their Servitude) work in the Fields, or do any other imployment save that which their Handicraft and Mechanick endeavours are capable of putting them upon, and are esteem'd as well by their Masters, as those that imploy them, above measure. He that's a Tradesman here in *Mary-Land* (though a Servant), lives as well as most common Handicrafts do in *London*, though they may want something of that Liberty which Freemen have, to go and come at their pleasure; yet if it were rightly understood and considered, what most of the Liberties of the several poor Tradesmen are taken up about, and what a care and trouble attends that thing they call Liberty, which according to the common translation is but Idleness, and (if weighed in the Ballance of a just Reason) will be found to be much heavier and cloggy then the four years restrainment of a *Mary-Land* Servitude. He that lives in the nature of a Servant in this Province, must serve but four years by the Custom of the Country; and when the expiration of his time speaks him a Freeman, there's a Law in the Province, that enjoyns his Master whom he hath served to give him Fifty Acres of Land, Corn to serve him a whole year, three Suits of Apparel,

with things necessary to them, and Tools to work withall; so that they are no sooner free, but they are ready to set up for themselves, and when once entred, they live passingly well. (See note No. 35).

The Women that go over into this Province as Servants, have the best luck here as in any place of the world besides; for they are no sooner on shoar, but they are courted into a Copulative Matrimony, which some of them (for aught I know) had they not come to such a Market with their Virginity, might have kept it by them untill it had been mouldy, unless they had let it out by a yearly rent to some of the Inhabitants of *Lewknors-Lane* (see note No. 36), or made a Deed of Gift of it to Mother *Coney*, having only a poor stipend out of it, untill the Gallows or Hospital called them away. Men have not altogether so good luck as Women in this kind, or natural preferment, without they be good Rhetoricians, and well vers'd in the Art of perswasion, then (probably) they may ryvet themselves in the time of their Servitude into the private and reserved favour of their Mistress, if Age speak their Master deficient.

In short, touching the Servants of this Province, they live well in the time of their Service, and by their restrainment in that time, they are made capable of living much better when they come to be free; which in several other parts of the world I have observed, That after some servants have brought their indented and limited time to a just and legal period

by Servitude, they have been much more incapable of supporting themselves from sinking into the Gulf of a slavish, poor, fettered, and intangled life, then all the fastness of their prefixed time did involve them in before.

Now the main and principal Reason of those incident casualties, that wait continually upon the residences of most poor Artificers, is (I gather) from the multiciplicity or innumerableness of those several Companies of Tradesmen, that dwell so closely and stiflingly together in one and the same place, that like the chafing Gum in Watered-Tabby, they eat into the folds of one anothers Estates. And this might easily be remedied, would but some of them remove and disperse distantly where want and necessity calls for them; their dwellings (I am confident) would be much larger, and their conditions much better, as well in reference to their Estates, as to the satisfactoriness of their minds, having a continual imployment, and from that imployment a continual benefit, without either begging, seducing, or flattering for it, encroaching that one month from one of the same profession, that they are heaved out themselves the next. For I have observed on the other side of *Mary-Land*, that the whole course of most Mechanical endeavours, is to catch, snatch, and undervalue one another, to get a little work, or a Customer; which when they have attained by their lowbuilt and sneaking circumventings, it stands upon so flashy, mutable, and transitory

a foundation, that the best of his hopes is commonly extinguisht before the poor undervalued Tradesman is warm in the enjoyment of his Customer.

Then did not a cloud of low and base Cowardize eclipse the Spirits of these men, these things might easily be diverted; but they had as live take a Bear by the tooth, as think of leaving their own Country, though they live among their own National people, and are governed by the same Laws they have here, yet all this wont do with them; and all the Reason they can render to the contrary is, There's a great Sea betwixt them and *Mary-Land*, and in that Sea there are Fishes, and not only Fishes but great Fishes, and then should a Ship meet with such an inconsiderable encounter as a Whale, one blow with his tayle, and then *Lord have Mercy upon us:* Yet meet with these men in their common Exchange, which is one story high in the bottom of a Celler, disputing over a Black-pot, it would be monstrously dreadful here to insert the particulars, one swearing that he was the first that scaled the Walls of *Dundee*, when the Bullets flew about their ears as thick as Hail-stones usually fall from the Sky; which if it were but rightly examined, the most dangerous Engagement that ever he was in, was but at one of the flashy battels at *Finsbury* (see note No. 37), where commonly there's more Custard greedily devoured, than men prejudiced by the rigour of the War. Others of this Company relating their several dreadful exploits,

and when they are just entring into the particulars, let but one step in and interrupt their discourse, by telling them of a Sea Voyage, and the violency of storms that attends it, and that there are no back-doors to run out at, which they call, *a handsom Retreat and Charge again;* the apprehensive danger of this is so powerful and penetrating on them, that a damp sweat immediately involves their Microcosm, so that *Margery* the old Matron of the Celler, is fain to run for a half-peny-worth of *Angelica* to rub their nostrils; and though the Port-hole of their bodies has been stopt from a convenient Evacuation some several months, theyl'e need no other Suppository to open the Orifice of their Esculent faculties then this Relation, as their Drawers or Breeches can more at large demonstrate to the inquisitive search of the curious.

Now I know that some will be apt to judge, that I have written this last part out of derision to some of my poor Mechanick Country-men: Truly I must needs tell those to their face that think so of me, that they prejudice me extremely, by censuring me as guilty of any such crime: What I have written is only to display the sordidness of their dispositions, who rather than they will remove to another Country to live plentiously well, and give their Neighbors more Elbow-room and space to breath in, they will croud and throng upon one another, with the pressure of a beggarly and unnecessary weight.

That which I have to say more in this business, is a hearty and desirous wish, that the several poor Tradesmen here in *London* that I know, and have borne an occular testimony of their want, might live so free from care as I did when I dwelt in the bonds of a four years Servitude in *Mary-Land.*

Be just (Domestick Monarchs) unto them
That dwell as Household Subjects to each Realm;
Let not your Power make you be too severe,
Where there's small faults reign in your sharp Career:
So that the Worlds base yelping Crew
May'nt bark what I have wrote is writ untrue,
So use your Servants, if there come no more,
They may serve Eight, instead of serving Four.

CHAP. IV.

Upon Trafique, and what Merchandizing Commodities this Province affords, also how Tobacco is planted and made fit for Commerce.

TRafique, Commerce, and Trade, are those great wheeles that by their circular and continued motion, turn into most Kingdoms of the Earth the plenty of abundant Riches that they are commonly fed withall: For Trafique in his right description, is the very soul of a Kingdom; and should but Fate ordain a removal of it for some years, from the richest and most populous Monarchy that dwells in the most fertile clyme of the whole Universe, he would soon find by a woful experiment, the miss and loss of so reviving a supporter. And I am certainly confident, that *England* would as soon feel her feebleness by withdrawment of so great an upholder; as well in reference to the internal and healthful preservative of her Inhabitants, for want of those Medicinal Drugs that are landed upon her Coast every year, as the external profits, Glory and beneficial Graces that accrue by her.

Paracelsus might knock down his Forge, if Trafique and Commerce should once cease, and grynde the hilt of his Sword into Powder, and take some of the Infusion to make him so valorous, that he might cut his

own Throat in the honor of *Mercury: Galen* might then burn his Herbal, and like *Joseph of Arimathea*, build him a Tomb in his Garden, and so rest from his labours: Our Physical Collegians of *London* would have no cause then to thunder Fire-balls at *Nich. Culpeppers* Dispensatory (see note No. 38). All Herbs, Roots, and Medicines would bear their original christening, that the ignorant might understand them: *Album grecum* would not be *Album grecum* (see note No. 39) then, but a Dogs turd would be a Dogs turd in plain terms, in spight of their teeth.

If Trade should once cease, the Custom-house would soon miss her hundreds and thousands Hogs-heads of Tobacco (see note No. 40), that use to be throng in her every year, as well as the Grocers would in their Ware-houses and Boxes, the Gentry and Commonalty in their Pipes, the Physician in his Drugs and Medicinal Compositions; The (leering) Waiters for want of imployment, might (like so many *Diogenes*) intomb themselves in their empty Casks, and rouling themselves off the Key into the *Thames*, there wander up and down from tide to tide in contemplation of *Aristotles* unresolved curiosity, until the rottenness of their circular habitation give them a *Quietus est*, and fairly surrender them up into the custody of those who both for profession, disposition and nature, lay as near claim to them, as if they both tumbled in one belly, and for name they jump alike, being according to the original translation both *Sharkes*.

Silks and Cambricks, and Lawns to make sleeves, would be as soon miss'd at Court, as Gold and Silver would be in the Mint and Pockets: The Low-Country Soldier would be at a cold stand for Outlandish Furrs to make him Muffs, to keep his ten similitudes warm in the Winter, as well as the Furrier for want of Skins to uphold his Trade.

Should Commerce once cease, there is no Country in the habitable world but would undoubtedly miss that flourishing, splendid and rich gallantry of Equipage, that Trafique maintained and drest her up in, before she received that fatal Eclipse: *England*, *France*, *Germany* and *Spain*, together with all the Kingdoms ——

But stop (good Muse) lest I should, like the Parson of *Pancras* (see note No. 41), run so far from my Text in half an hour, that a two hours trot back again would hardly fetch it up: I had best while I am alive in my Doctrine, to think again of *Mary-Land*, lest the business of other Countries take up so much room in my brain, that I forget and bury her in oblivion.

The three main Commodities this Country affords for Trafique, are Tobacco, Furrs, and Flesh. Furrs and Skins, as Beavers, Otters, Musk-Rats, Rackoons, Wild-Cats, and Elke or Buffeloe (see note No. 42), with divers others, which were first made vendible by the *Indians* of the Country, and sold to the Inhabitant, and by them to the Merchant, and so trans-

ported into *England* and other places where it becomes most commodious.

Tobacco is the only solid Staple Commodity of this Province: The use of it was first found out by the *Indians* many Ages agoe, and transferr'd into Christendom by that great Discoverer of *America Columbus*. It's generally made by all the Inhabitants of this Province, and between the months of *March* and *April* they sow the seed (which is much smaller then Mustard-seed) in small beds and patches digg'd up and made so by art, and about *May* the Plants commonly appear green in those beds: In *June* they are transplanted from their beds, and set in little hillocks in distant rowes, dug up for the same purpose; some twice or thrice they are weeded, and succoured from their illegitimate Leaves that would be peeping out from the body of the Stalk. They top the several Plants as they find occasion in their predominating rankness: About the middle of *September* they cut the Tobacco down, and carry it into houses, (made for that purpose) to bring it to its purity: And after it has attained, by a convenient attendance upon time, to its perfection, it is then tyed up in bundles, and packt into Hogs-heads, and then laid by for the Trade.

Between *November* and *January* there arrives in this Province Shipping to the number of twenty sail and upwards (see note No. 43), all Merchant-men loaden with Commodities to Trafique and dispose of,

trucking with the Planter for Silks, Hollands, Serges, and Broad-clothes, with other necessary Goods, priz'd at such and such rates as shall be judg'd on is fair and legal, for Tobacco at so much the pound, and advantage on both sides considered; the Planter for his work, and the Merchant for adventuring himself and his Commodity into so far a Country: Thus is the Trade on both sides drove on with a fair and honest *Decorum*.

The Inhabitants of this Province are seldom or never put to the affrightment of being robb'd of their money, nor to dirty their Fingers by telling of vast sums: They have more bags to carry Corn, then Coyn; and though they want, but why should I call that a want which is only a necessary miss? the very effects of the dirt of this Province affords as great a profit to the general Inhabitant, as the Gold of *Peru* doth to the straight-breecht Commonalty of the *Spaniard*.

Our Shops and Exchanges of *Mary-Land*, are the Merchants Store-houses, where with few words and protestations Goods are bought and delivered; not like those Shop-keepers Boys in *London*, that continually cry, *What do ye lack Sir? What d'ye buy?* yelping with so wide a mouth, as if some Apothecary had hired their mouths to stand open to catch Gnats and Vagabond Flyes in.

Tobacco is the currant Coyn of *Mary-Land*, and will sooner purchase Commodities from the Merchant,

then money. I must confess the *New-England* men that trade into this Province, had rather have fat Pork for their Goods, than Tobacco or Furrs (see note No. 44), which I conceive is, because their bodies being fast bound up with the cords of restringent Zeal, they are fain to make use of the lineaments of this *Non-Canaanite* creature physically to loosen them; for a bit of a pound upon a two-peny Rye loaf, according to the original Receipt, will bring the costiv'st red-ear'd Zealot in some three hours time to a fine stool, if methodically observed.

Medera-Wines, Sugars, Salt, Wickar-Chairs, and Tin Candlesticks, is the most of the Commodities they bring in: They arrive in *Mary-Land* about *September*, being most of them Ketches and Barkes, and such small Vessels, and those dispersing themselves into several small Creeks of this Province, to sell and dispose of their Commodities, where they know the Market is most fit for their small Adventures.

Barbadoes (see note No. 45), together with the several adjacent Islands, has much Provision yearly from this Province: And though these Sun-burnt *Phaetons* think to outvye *Mary-Land* in their Silks and Puffs, daily speaking against her whom their necessities makes them beholding to, and like so many *Don Diegos* that becackt *Pauls*, cock their Felts and look big upon't; yet if a man could go down into their infernals, and see how it fares with them there, I believe he would hardly find any other Spirit to

buoy them up, then the ill-visaged Ghost of want, that continually wanders from gut to gut to feed upon the undigested rynes of Potatoes.

Trafique is Earth's great Atlas, that supports
The pay of Armies, and the height of Courts,
And makes Mechanicks live, that else would die
Meer starving Martyrs to their penury:
None but the Merchant of this thing can boast,
He, like the Bee, comes loaden from each Coast,
And to all Kingdoms, as within a Hive,
Stows up those Riches that doth make them thrive:
Be thrifty, Mary-Land, *keep what thou hast in store,*
And each years Trafique to thy self get more.

A Relation of the Customs, Manners, Absurdities, and Religion of the SUSQUEHANOCK (see note No. 46) INDIANS in and near MARY-LAND.

AS the diversities of Languages (since Babels confusion) has made the distinction between people and people, in this Christendompart of the world; so are they distinguished Nation from Nation, by the diversities and confusion of their Speech and Languages (see note No. 47) here in *America:* And as every Nation differs in their Laws, Manners and Customs, in *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, so do they the very same here; That it would be a most intricate and laborious trouble, to run (with a description) through the several Nations of *Indians* here in *America*, considering the innumerableness and diversities of them that dwell on this vast and unmeasured Continent: But rather then I'le be altogether silent, I shall do like the Painter in the Comedy, who being to limne out the Pourtraiture of the Furies, as they severally appeared, set himself behind a Pillar, and between fright and amazement, drew them by guess. Those *Indians* that I have convers'd withall here in this Province of *Mary-Land*, and have had any occular experimental view of either of their Customs, Manners, Religions, and Absurdities, are called by the

name of *Susquehanocks*, being a people lookt upon by the Christian Inhabitants, as the most Noble and Heroick Nation of *Indians* that dwell upon the confines of *America;* also are so allowed and lookt upon by the rest of the *Indians*, by a submissive and tributary acknowledgement; being a people cast into the mould of a most large and Warlike deportment, the men being for the most part seven foot high in latitude, and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch; their voyce large and hollow, as ascending out of a Cave, their gate and behavior strait, stately and majestick, treading on the Earth with as much pride, contempt, and disdain to so sordid a Center, as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same mould and Earth.

Their bodies are cloth'd with no other Armour to defend them from the nipping frosts of a benumbing Winter, or the penetrating and scorching influence of the Sun in a hot Summer, then what Nature gave them when they parted with the dark receptacle of their mothers womb. They go Men, Women and Children, all naked, only where shame leads them by a natural instinct to be reservedly modest, there they become cover'd. The formality of *Jezabels* artificial Glory is much courted and followed by these *Indians*, only in matter of colours (I conceive) they differ.

The *Indians* paint upon their faces one stroke of red, another of green, another of white, and another of black, so that when they have accomplished the

Equipage of their Countenance in this trim, they are the only Hieroglyphicks and Representatives of the Furies. Their skins are naturally white, but altered from their originals by the several dyings of Roots and Barks, that they prepare and make useful to metamorphize their hydes into a dark Cinamon brown. The hair of their head is black, long and harsh, but where Nature hath appointed the situation of it any where else, they divert it (by an antient custom) from its growth, by pulling it up hair by hair by the root in its primitive appearance. Several of them wear divers impressions on their breasts and armes, as the picture of the Devil, Bears, Tigers, and Panthers, which are imprinted on their several lineaments with much difficulty and pain, with an irrevocable determination of its abiding there: And this they count a badge of Heroick Valour, and the only Ornament due to their *Heroes.* (See note No. 48).

These *Susquehanock Indians* are for the most part great Warriours, and seldom sleep one Summer in the quiet armes of a peaceable Rest, but keep (by their present Power, as well as by their former Conquest) the several Nations of *Indians* round about them, in a forceable obedience and subjection.

Their Government is wrapt up in so various and intricate a Laborynth, that the speculativ'st Artist in the whole World, with his artificial and natural Opticks, cannot see into the rule or sway of these *Indians,* to distinguish what name of Government to

call them by; though *Purchas* (see note No. 49) in his *Peregrination* between *London* and *Essex*, (which he calls the whole World) will undertake (forsooth) to make a Monarchy of them, but if he had said Anarchy, his word would have pass'd with a better belief. All that ever I could observe in them as to this matter is, that he that is most cruelly Valorous, is accounted the most Noble: Here is very seldom any creeping from a Country Farm, into a Courtly Gallantry, by a sum of money; nor feeing the Heralds to put Daggers and Pistols into their Armes, to make the ignorant believe that they are lineally descended from the house of the Wars and Conquests; he that fights best carries it here.

When they determine to go upon some Design that will and doth require a Consideration, some six of them get into a corner, and sit in Juncto; and if thought fit, their business is made popular, and immediately put into action; if not, they make a full stop to it, and are silently reserv'd.

The Warlike Equipage they put themselves in when they prepare for *Belona's* March, is with their faces, armes, and breasts confusedly painted, their hair greased with Bears oyl, and stuck thick with Swans Feathers, with a wreath or Diadem of black and white Beads upon their heads, a small Hatchet, instead of a Cymetre, stuck in their girts behind them, and either with Guns, or Bows and Arrows. In this posture and dress they march out from their Fort, or

dwelling, to the number of Forty in a Troop, singing (or rather howling out) the Decades or Warlike exploits of their Ancestors, ranging the wide Woods untill their fury has met with an Enemy worthy of their Revenge. What Prisoners fall into their hands by the destiny of War, they treat them very civilly while they remain with them abroad, but when they once return homewards, they then begin to dress them in the habit for death, putting on their heads and armes wreaths of Beads, greazing their hair with fat, some going before, and the rest behind, at equal distance from their Prisoners, bellowing in a strange and confused manner, which is a true presage and forerunner of destruction to their then conquered Enemy. (See note No. 50).

In this manner of march they continue till they have brought them to their Berken City (see note No. 51), where they deliver them up to those that in cruelty will execute them, without either the legal Judgement of a Council of War, or the benefit of their Clergy at the Common Law. The common and usual deaths they put their Prisoners to, is to bind them to stakes, making a fire some distance from them; then one or other of them, whose Genius delights in the art of Paganish dissection, with a sharp knife or flint cuts the Cutis or outermost skin of the brow so deep, untill their nails, or rather Talons, can fasten themselves firm and secure in, then (with a most rigid jerk) disrobeth the head of skin and hair at one pull, leaving

the skull almost as bare as those Monumental Skelitons at Chyrurgions-Hall; but for fear they should get cold by leaving so warm and customary a Cap off, they immediately apply to the skull a Cataplasm of hot Embers to keep their Pericanium warm. While they are thus acting this cruelty on their heads, several others are preparing pieces of Iron, and barrels of old Guns, which they make red hot, to sear each part and lineament of their bodies, which they perform and act in a most cruel and barbarous manner: And while they are thus in the midst of their torments and execrable usage, some tearing their skin and hair of their head off by violence, others searing their bodies with hot irons, some are cutting their flesh off, and eating it before their eyes raw while they are alive; yet all this and much more never makes them lower the Top-gallant sail of their Heroick courage, to beg with a submissive Repentance any indulgent favour from their persecuting Enemies; but with an undaunted contempt to their cruelty, eye it with so slight and mean a respect, as if it were below them to value what they did, they courageously (while breath doth libertize them) sing the summary of their Warlike Atchievements.

Now after this cruelty has brought their tormented lives to a period, they immediately fall to butchering of them into parts, distributing the several pieces amongst the Sons of War, to intomb the ruines of their deceased Conquest in no other Sepulchre then

their unsanctified maws; which they with more appetite and desire do eat and digest, then if the best of foods should court their stomachs to participate of the most restorative Banquet. Yet though they now and then feed upon the Carkesses of their Enemies, this is not a common dyet, but only a particular dish for the better sort (see note No. 52); for there is not a Beast that runs in the Woods of *America*, but if they can by any means come at him, without any scruple of Conscience they'le fall too (without saying Grace) with a devouring greediness.

As for their Religion, together with their Rites and Ceremonies, they are so absurd and ridiculous, that its almost a sin to name them. They own no other Deity than the Devil, (solid or profound) but with a kind of a wilde imaginary conjecture, they suppose from their groundless conceits, that the World had a Maker, but where he is that made it, or whether he be living to this day, they know not. The Devil, as I said before, is all the God they own or worship; and that more out of a slavish fear then any real Reverence to his Infernal or Diabolical greatness, he forcing them to their Obedience by his rough and rigid dealing with them, often appearing visibly among them to their terrour, bastinadoing them (with cruel menaces) even unto death, and burning their Fields of Corn and houses, that the relation thereof makes them tremble themselves when they tell it.

Once in four years they Sacrifice a Childe to him (see note No. 53), in an acknowledgement of their firm obedience to all his Devillish powers, and Hellish commands. The Priests to whom they apply themselves in matters of importance and greatest distress, are like those that attended upon the Oracle at *Delphos*, who by their Magic-spells could command a *pro* or *con* from the Devil when they pleas'd. These *Indians* oft-times raise great Tempests when they have any weighty matter or design in hand, and by blustering storms inquire of their Infernal God (the Devil) *How matters shall go with them either in publick or private.* (See note No. 54).

When any among them depart this life, they give him no other intombment, then to set him upright upon his breech in a hole dug in the Earth some five foot long, and three foot deep, covered over with the Bark of Trees Arch-wise, with his face Du-West, only leaving a hole half a foot square open. They dress him in the same Equipage and Gallantry that he used to be trim'd in when he was alive, and so bury him (if a Soldier) with his Bows, Arrows, and Target, together with all the rest of his implements and weapons of War, with a Kettle of Broth, and Corn standing before him, lest he should meet with bad quarters in his way. (See note No. 55). His Kinred and Relations follow him to the Grave, sheath'd in Bear skins for close mourning, with the tayl droyling on the ground, in imitation of our *English* Solemners,

that think there's nothing like a tayl a Degree in length, to follow the dead Corpse to the Grave with. Here if that snuffling Prolocutor, that waits upon the dead Monuments of the Tombs at *Westminster*, with his white Rod were there, he might walk from Tomb to Tomb with his, *Here lies the Duke of* Ferrara *and his Dutchess*, and never find any decaying vacation, unless it were in the moldering Consumption of his own Lungs. They bury all within the wall or Pallisado'd impalement of their City, or *Connadago* (see note No. 56) as they call it. Their houses are low and long, built with the Bark of Trees Arch-wise, standing thick and confusedly together. They are situated a hundred and odd miles distant from the Christian Plantations of *Mary-Land*, at the head of a River that runs into the Bay of *Chæsapike*, called by their own name *The Susquehanock River*, where they remain and inhabit most part of the Summer time, and seldom remove far from it, unless it be to subdue any Forreign Rebellion.

About *November* the best Hunters draw off to several remote places of the Woods, where they know the Deer, Bear, and Elke useth; there they build them several Cottages, which they call their Winter-quarter, where they remain for the space of three months, untill they have killed up a sufficiency of Provisions to supply their Families with in the Summer.

The Women are the Butchers, Cooks, and Tillers of the ground, the Men think it below the honour of

a Masculine, to stoop to any thing but that which their Gun, or Bow and Arrows can command. The Men kill the several Beasts which they meet withall in the Woods, and the Women are the Pack horses to fetch it in upon their backs, fleying and dressing the hydes, (as well as the flesh for provision) to make them fit for Trading, and which are brought down to the *English* at several seasons in the year, to truck and dispose of them for course Blankets, Guns, Powder and lead, Beads, small Looking-glasses, Knives, and Razors. (See note No. 57).

I never observed all the while I was amongst these naked *Indians*, that ever the Women wore the Breeches, or dared either in look or action predominate over the Men. They are very constant to their Wives; and let this be spoken to their Heathenish praise, that did they not alter their bodies by their dyings, paintings, and cutting themselves, marring those Excellencies that Nature bestowed upon them in their original conceptions and birth, there would be as amiable beauties amongst them, as any *Alexandria* could afford, when *Mark Anthony* and *Cleopatra* dwelt there together. Their Marriages are short and authentique; for after 'tis resolv'd upon by both parties, the Woman sends her intended Husband a Kettle of boyl'd Venison, or Bear; and he returns in lieu thereof Beaver or Otters Skins, and so their Nuptial Rites are concluded without other Ceremony. (See note No. 58).

Before I bring my Heathenish Story to a period, I have one thing worthy your observation: For as our Grammar Rules have it, *Non decet quenquam me ire currentem aut mandantem:* It doth not become any man to piss running or eating. These Pagan men naturally observe the same Rule; for they are so far from running, that like a Hare, they squat to the ground as low as they can, while the Women stand bolt upright with their armes a Kimbo, performing the same action, in so confident and obscene a posture (see note No. 59), as if they had taken their Degrees of Entrance at *Venice*, and commenced Bawds of Art at *Legorne*.

A Collection of some Letters that were written by the same Author, most of them in the time of his Servitude.

To my much Honored Friend Mr. T. B.

Sir,

I Have lived with sorrow to see the Anointed of the Lord tore from his Throne by the hands of Paricides, and in contempt haled, in the view of God, Angels and Men, upon a public Theatre, and there murthered. I have seen the sacred Temple of the Almighty, in scorn by Schismatics made the Receptacle of Theeves and Robbers; and those Religious Prayers, that in devotion Evening and Morning were offered up as a Sacrifice to our God, rent by Sacrilegious hands, and made no other use of, then sold to Brothel-houses to light Tobacco with.

Who then can stay, or will, to see things of so great weight steer'd by such barbarous Hounds as these: First, were there an *Egypt* to go down to, I would involve my Liberty to them, upon condition ne'er more to see my Country. What? live in silence under the sway of such base actions, is to give consent; and though the lowness of my present Estate and Condition, with the hazard I put my future dayes upon, might plead a just excuse for me to stay at home; but Heavens forbid: I'le rather serve in

Chains, and draw the Plough with Animals, till death shall stop and say, *It is enough.* Sir, if you stay behind, I wish you well: I am bound for *Mary-Land*, this day I have made some entrance into my intended voyage, and when I have done more, you shall know of it. I have here inclosed what you of me desired, but truly trouble, discontent and business, have so amazed my senses, that what to write, or where to write, I conceive my self almost as uncapable as he that never did write. What you'le find will be *Ex tempore*, without the use of premeditation; and though there may want something of a flourishing stile to dress them forth, yet I'm certain there wants nothing of truth, will, and desire.

Heavens bright Lamp, shine forth some of thy Light,
But just so long to paint this dismal Night;
Then draw thy beams, and hide thy glorious face,
From the dark sable actions of this place;
Leaving these lustful Sodomites groping still,
To satisfie each dark unsatiate will,
Untill at length the crimes that they commit,
May sink them down to Hells Infernal pit.
Base and degenerate Earth, how dost thou lye,
That all that pass hiss, at thy Treachery?
Thou which couldst boast once of thy King and Crown,
By base Mechanicks now art tumbled down,
Brewers *and* Coblers, *that have scarce an Eye,*
Walk hand in hand in thy Supremacy;
And all those Courts where Majesty did Throne,
Are now the Seats for Oliver and Ioan:

Persons of Honour, which did before inherit
Their glorious Titles from deserved merit,
Are all grown silent, and with wonder gaze,
To view such Slaves drest in their Courtly rayes;
To see a Drayman *that knows nought but Yeast,*
Set in a Throne like Babylons *red Beast,*
While heaps of Parasites do idolize
This red-nos'd Bell, *with fawning Sacrifice.*
What can we say? our King they've Murthered,
And those well born, are basely buried:
Nobles are slain, and Royalists in each street
Are scorn'd, and kick'd by most Men that they meet:
Religion's banisht, and Heresie survives,
And none but Conventicks in this Age thrives.
Oh could those Romans *from their Ashes rise,*
That liv'd in Nero's *time: Oh how their cries*
Would our perfidious Island shake, nay rend,
With clamorous screaks unto the Heaven send:
Oh how they'd blush to see our Crimson crimes,
And know the Subjects Authors of these times:
When as the Peasant he shall take his King,
And without cause shall fall a murthering him;
And when that's done, with Pride assume the Chair,
And Nimrod-*like, himself to heaven rear;*
Command the People, make the Land Obey
His baser will, and swear to what he'l say.
Sure, sure our God has not these evils sent
To please himself, but for mans punishment:
And when he shall from our dark sable Skies
Withdraw these Clouds, and let our Sun arise,
Our dayes will surely then in Glory shine,
Both in our Temporal, and our State divine:

May this come quickly, though I may never see
This glorious day, yet I would sympathie,
And feel a joy run through each vain of blood,
Though Vassalled on t'other side the Floud.
Heavens protect his Sacred Majesty,
From secret Plots, & treacherous Villany.
And that those Slaves that now predominate,
Hang'd and destroy'd may be their best of Fate;
And though Great Charles *be distant from his own,*
Heaven I hope will seat him on his Throne.

Vale.

Yours what I may,

G. A.

From the Chimney Corner upon a low cricket, where I writ this in the noise of some six Women, *Aug.* 19. *Anno*

To my Honored Father at his House.

Sir,

BEfore I dare bid Adieu to the old World, or shake hands with my native Soyl for ever, I have a Conscience inwards tells me, that I must offer up the remains of that Obedience of mine, that lyes close centered within the cave of my Soul, at the Alter, of your paternal Love: And though this Sacrifice of mine may shew something low and thread-bare, (at this time) yet know, That in the Zenith of all

actions, Obedience is that great wheel that moves the lesser in their circular motion.

I am now entring for some time to dwell under the Government of *Neptune*, a Monarchy that I was never manured to live under, nor to converse with in his dreadful Aspect, neither do I know how I shall bear with his rough demands; but that God has carried me through those many gusts a shoar, which I have met withall in the several voyages of my life, I hope will Pilot me safely to my desired Port, through the worst of Stormes I shall meet withall at Sea.

We have strange, and yet good news aboard, that he whose vast mind could not be contented with spacious Territories to stretch his insatiate desires on, is (by an Almighty power) banished from his usuped Throne to dwell among the dead. I no sooner heard of it, but my melancholly Muse forced me upon this ensuing Distich.

Poor vaunting Earth, gloss'd with uncertain Pride,
That liv'd in Pomp, yet worse than others dy'd:
Who shall blow forth a Trumpet to thy praise?
Or call thy sable Actions shining Rayes?
Such Lights as those blaze forth the vertued dead,
And make them live, though they are buried.
Thou'st gone, and to thy memory let be said,
There lies that Oliver which of old betray'd
His King and Master, and after did assume,
With swelling Pride, to govern in his room.
Here I'le rest satisfied, Scriptures expound to me,
Tophet was made for such Supremacy.

The death of this great Rebel (I hope) will prove an *Omen* to presage destruction on the rest. The World's in a heap of troubles and confusion, and while they are in the midst of their changes and amazes, the best way to give them the bag, is to go out of the World and leave them. I am now bound for *Mary-Land*, and I am told that's a New World, but if it prove no better than this, I shall not get much by my change; but before I'le revoke my Resolution, I am resolv'd to put it to adventure, for I think it can hardly be worse then this is: Thus committing you into the hands of that God that made you, I rest

Your Obedient Son,
G. A.

From aboard a Ship at *Gravesend, Sept.* 7th, *Anno*

To my Brother.

I Leave you very near in the same condition as I am in my self, only here lies the difference, you were bound at Joyners Hall in *London* Apprentice-wise, and I conditionally at Navigators Hall, that now rides at an Anchor at *Gravesend;* I hope you will allow me to live in the largest Mayordom, by reason I am the eldest: None but the main Continent of *America* will serve me for a Corporation to inhabit

in now, though I am affraid for all that, that the reins of my Liberty will be something shorter then yours will be in *London:* But as to that, what Destiny has ordered I am resolved with an adventerous Resolution to subscribe to, and with a contented imbracement enjoy it. I would fain have seen you once more in this Old World, before I go into the New, I know you have a chain about your Leg, as well as I have a clog about my Neck: If you can't come, send a line or two, if not, wish me well at least: I have one thing to charge home upon you, and I hope you will take my counsel, That you have alwayes an obedient Respect and Reverence to your aged Parents, that while they live they may have comfort of you, and when that God shall sound a retreat to their lives, that there they may with their gray hairs in joy go down to their Graves.

Thus concluding, wishing you a comfortable Servitude, a prosperous Life, and the assurance of a happy departure in the immutable love of him that made you, Vale.

Your Brother,

G. A.

From *Gravesend,* Sept. 7. *Anno*

To my much Honored Friend Mr. T. B. *at his House.*

I Am got ashoar with much ado, and it is very well it is as it is, for if I had stayed a little longer, I had certainly been a Creature of the Water, for I had hardly flesh enough to carry me to Land, not that I wanted for any thing that the Ship could afford me in reason: But oh the great bowls of Pease-porridge that appeared in sight every day about the hour of twelve, ingulfed the senses of my Appetite so, with the restringent quality of the Salt Beef, upon the internal Inhabitants of my belly, that a *Galenist* for some days after my arrival, with his Bag-pipes of Physical operations, could hardly make my Puddings dance in any methodical order.

But to set by these things that happened unto me at Sea, I am now upon Land, and there I'le keep my self if I can, and for four years I am pretty sure of my restraint; and had I known my yoak would have been so easie, (as I conceive it will) I would have been here long before now, rather then to have dwelt under the pressure of a Rebellious and Trayterous Government so long as I did. I dwell now by providence in the Province of *Mary-Land*, (under the quiet Government of the Lord *Baltemore*) which Country a bounds in a most glorious prosperity and plenty of all things. And though the Infancy of her situation might plead an excuse to those several imperfections, (if she were guilty of any of them) which by scandal-

ous and imaginary conjectures are falsly laid to her charge, and which she values with so little notice or perceivance of discontent, that she hardly alters her visage with a frown, to let them know she is angry with such a Rascality of people, that loves nothing better then their own sottish and abusive acclamations of baseness: To be short, the Country (so far forth as I have seen into it) is incomparable.

Here is a sort of naked Inhabitants, or wilde people, that have for many ages I believe lived here in the Woods of *Mary-Land*, as well as in other parts of the Continent, before e'er it was by the Christian Discoverers found out; being a people strange to behold, as well in their looks, which by confused paintings makes them seem dreadful, as in their sterne and heroick gate and deportments, the Men are mighty tall and big limbed, the Women not altogether so large; they are most of them very well featured, did not their wilde and ridiculous dresses alter their original excellencies: The men are great Warriours and Hunters, the Women ingenious and laborious Housewives.

As to matter of their Worship, they own no other Deity then the Devil, and him more out of a slavish fear, then any real devotion, or willing acknowledgement to his Hellish power. They live in little small Bark-Cottages, in the remote parts of the Woods, killing and slaying the several Animals that they meet withall to make provision of, dressing their

several Hydes and Skins to Trafique withall, when a conveniency of Trade presents. I would go on further, but like Doctor *Case*, when he had not a word more to speak for himself, *I am affraid my beloved I have kept you too long.* Now he that made you save you. *Amen.*

Yours to command,

G. A.

From *Mary-Land, Febr.* 6. *Anno*

And not to forget *Tom Forge* I beseech you, tell him that my Love's the same towards him still, and as firm as it was about the overgrown Tryal, when Judgements upon judgements, had not I stept in, would have pursued him untill the day of Judgement, *&c.*

To my Father at his House.

Sir,

After my Obedience (at so great and vast a distance) has humbly saluted you and my good Mother, with the cordialest of my prayers, wishes, and desires to wait upon you, with the very best of their effectual devotion, wishing from the very Center of my Soul your flourishing and well-being here upon Earth, and your glorious and everlasting happiness in the World to Come.

These lines (my dear Parents) come from that Son which by an irregular Fate was removed from his Native home, and after a five months dangerous passage, was landed on the remote Continent of *America*, in the Province of *Mary-Land*, where now by providence I reside. To give you the particulars of the several accidents that happened in our voyage by Sea, it would swell a Journal of some sheets, and therefore too large and tedious for a Letter: I think it therefore necessary to bind up the relation in Octavo, and give it you in short.

We had a blowing and dangerous passage of it, and for some dayes after I arrived, I was an absolute *Copernicus*, it being one main point of my moral Creed, to believe the World had a pair of long legs, and walked with the burthen of the Creation upon her back. For to tell you the very truth of it, for some dayes upon Land, after so long and tossing a passage, I was so giddy that I could hardly tread an even step; so that all things both above and below (that was in view) appeared to me like the *Kentish Britains* to *William the Conqueror*, in a moving posture.

Those few number of weeks since my arrival, has given me but little experience to write any thing large of the Country; only thus much I can say, and that not from any imaginary conjectures, but from an occular observation, That this Country of *Mary-Land* abounds in a flourishing variety of delightful Woods,

pleasant groves, lovely Springs, together with spacious Navigable Rivers and Creeks, it being a most helthful and pleasant situation, so far as my knowledge has yet had any view in it.

Herds of Deer are as numerous in this Province of *Mary-Land*, as Cuckolds can be in *London*, only their horns are not so well drest and tipt with silver as theirs are.

Here if the Devil had such a Vagary in his head as he had once among the *Gadareans*, he might drown a thousand head of Hogs and they'd ne're be miss'd, for the very Woods of this Province swarms with them.

The Christian Inhabitant of this Province, as to the general, lives wonderful well and contented: The Government of this Province is by the loyalness of the people, and loving demeanor of the Proprietor and Governor of the same, kept in a continued peace and unity.

The Servant of this Province, which are stigmatiz'd for Slaves by the clappermouth jaws of the vulgar in *England*, live more like Freemen then the most Mechanick Apprentices in *London*, wanting for nothing that is convenient and necessary, and according to their several capacities, are extraordinary well used and respected. So leaving things here as I found them, and lest I should commit Sacriledge upon your more serious meditations, with the Tautologies of a long-winded Letter, I'le subscribe with a

heavenly Ejaculation to the God of Mercy to preserve you now and for evermore, *Amen.*

Your Obedient Son,

G. A.

From *Mary-Land, Jan.* 17. *Anno*

To my much Honored Friend Mr. M. F.

Sir,

You writ to me when I was at *Gravesend*, (but I had no conveniency to send you an answer till now) enjoyning me, if possible, to give you a just Information by my diligent observance, what thing were best and most profitable to send into this Country for a commodious Trafique.

Sir, The enclosed will demonstrate unto you both particularly and at large, to the full satisfaction of your desire, it being an Invoyce drawn as exact to the business you imployed me upon, as my weak capacity could extend to.

Sir, If you send any Adventure to this Province, let me beg to give you this advice in it; That the Factor whom you imploy be a man of a Brain, otherwise the Planter will go near to make a Skimming-dish of his Skull: I know your Genius can interpret my meaning. The people of this place (whether the saltness of the Ocean gave them any alteration when they went over first, or their continual dwelling under

the remote Clyme where they now inhabit, I know not) are a more acute people in general, in matters of Trade and Commerce, then in any other place of the World (see note No. 60), and by their crafty and sure bargaining, do often over-reach the raw and unexperienced Merchant. To be short, he that undertakes Merchants imployment for *Mary-Land*, must have more of Knave in him then Fool; he must not be a windling piece of Formality, that will lose his Imployers Goods for Conscience sake; nor a flashy piece of Prodigality, that will give his Merchants fine Hollands, Laces, and Silks, to purchase the benevolence of a Female: But he must be a man of solid confidence, carrying alwayes in his looks the Effigies of an Execution upon Command, if he supposes a baffle or denyal of payment, where a debt for his Imployer is legally due. (See note No. 61).

Sir, I had like almost to forgot to tell you in what part of the World I am: I dwell by providence Servant to Mr. *Thomas Stocket* (see note No. 62), in the County of *Baltemore*, within the Province of *Mary-Land*, under the Government of the Lord *Baltemore*, being a Country abounding with the variety and diversity of all that is or may be rare. But lest I should Tantalize you with a relation of that which is very unlikely of your enjoying, by reason of that strong Antipathy you have ever had 'gainst Travel, as to your own particular: I'le only tell you, that *Mary-Land* is seated within the large extending armes

of *America*, between the Degrees of 36 and 38, being in Longitude from *England* eleven hundred and odd Leagues.

Vale.

G. A.

From *Mary-Land, Jan.* 17. *Anno*

To my Honored Friend Mr. T. B. *at his House.*

Sir,

YOurs I received, wherein I find my self much obliged to you for your good opinion of me, I return you millions of thanks.

Sir, you wish me well, and I pray God as well that those wishes may light upon me, and then I question not but all will do well. Those Pictures you sent sewed up in a Pastboard, with a Letter tacked on the outside, you make no mention at all what should be done with them: If they are Saints, unless I knew their names, I could make no use of them. Pray in your next let me know what they are, for my fingers itch to be doing with them one way or another. Our Government here hath had a small fit of a Rebellious Quotidian, (see note No. 63), but five Grains of the powder of Subvertment has qualified it. Pray be larger in your next how things stand in *England:* I understand His Majesty is return'd with Honour, and seated in the hereditary Throne of his Father; God

bless him from Traytors, and the Church from Sacrilegious Schisms, and you as a loyal Subject to the one, and a true Member to the other; while you so continue, the God of order, peace and tranquility, bless and preserve you, *Amen.*

Vale.

Your real Friend,

G. A.

From *Mary-Land,* Febr. 20. *Anno*

To my Honored Father at his House.

Sir,

WIth a twofold unmeasurable joy I received your Letter: First, in the consideration of Gods great Mercy to you in particular, (though weak and aged) yet to give you dayes among the living. Next, that his now most Excellent Majesty *Charles* the Second, is by the omnipotent Providence of God, seated in the Throne of his Father. I hope that God has placed him there, will give him a heart to praise and magnifie his name for ever, and a hand of just Revenge, to punish the murthering and rebellious Outrages of those Sons of shame and Apostacy, that Usurped the Throne of his Sacred Honour. Near about the time I received your Letter, (or a little before) here sprang up in this Province of *Mary-Land* a kind of pigmie Rebellion: A company of weak-

witted men, which thought to have traced the steps of *Oliver* in Rebellion (see note No. 63). They began to be mighty stiff and hidebound in their proceedings, clothing themselves with the flashy pretences of future and imaginary honour, and (had they not been suddenly quell'd) they might have done so much mischief (for aught I know) that nothing but utter ruine could have ransomed their headlong follies.

His Majesty appearing in *England*, he quickly (by the splendor of his Rayes) thawed the stiffness of their frozen and slippery intentions. All things (blessed be God for it) are at peace and unity here now: And as *Luther* being asked once, What he thought of some small Opinions that started up in his time? answered, *That he thought them to be good honest people, exempting their error:* So I judge of these men, That their thoughts were not so bad at first, as their actions would have led them into in process of time.

I have here enclosed sent you something written in haste upon the Kings coming to the enjoyment of his Throne, with a reflection upon the former sad and bad times; I have done them as well as I could, considering all things: If they are not so well as they should be, all I can do is to wish them better for your sakes. My Obedience to you and my Mother alwayes devoted.

Your Son

G. A.

From *Mary-Land*, Febr. 9. *Anno*

To my Cosen Mris. Ellinor Evins.

E' *re I forget the Zenith of your Love,*
L *et me be banisht from the Thrones above;*
L *ight let me never see, when I grow rude,*
I *ntomb your Love in base Ingratitude:*
N *or may I prosper, but the state*
O *f gaping* Tantalus *be my fate;*
R *ather then I should thus preposterous grow,*
E *arth would condemn me to her vaults below.*
V *ertuous and Noble, could my Genius raise*
I *mmortal Anthems to your Vestal praise,*
N *one should be more laborious than I,*
S *aint-like to Canonize you to the Sky.*

The Antimonial Cup (dear Cosen) you sent me, I had; and as soon as I received it, I went to work with the Infirmities and Diseases of my body. At the first draught, it made such havock among the several humors that had stolen into my body, that like a Conjurer in a room among a company of little Devils, they no sooner hear him begin to speak high words, but away they pack, and happy is he that can get out first, some up the Chimney, and the rest down stairs, till they are all disperst. So those malignant humors of my body, feeling the operative power, and medicinal virtue of this Cup, were so amazed at their sudden surprizal, (being alwayes before battered only by the weak assaults of some few Empyricks) they stood not long to dispute, but with joynt consent

made their retreat, some running through the sink of the Skullery, the rest climbing up my ribs, took my mouth for a Garret-window, and so leapt out.

Cosen, For this great kindness of yours, in sending me this medicinal vertue, I return you my thanks: It came in a very good time, when I was dangerously sick, and by the assistance of God it hath perfectly recovered me.

I have sent you here a few Furrs, they were all I could get at present, I humbly beg your acceptance of them, as a pledge of my love and thankfulness unto you; I subscribe,

Your loving Cosen,
G. A.

From *Mary Land, Dec.* 9. *Anno*

To My Brother P. A.

Brother,

I Have made a shift to unloose my self from my Collar now as well as you, but I see at present either small pleasure or profit in it: What the futurality of my dayes will bring forth, I know not; For while I was linckt with the Chain of a restraining Servitude, I had all things cared for, and now I have all things to care for my self, which makes me almost to wish my self in for the other four years.

Liberty without money, is like a man opprest with the Gout, every step he puts forward puts him to

pain; when on the other side, he that has Coyn with his Liberty, is like the swift Post-Messenger of the Gods, that wears wings at his heels, his motion being swift or slow, as he pleaseth.

I received this year two Caps, the one white, of an honest plain countenance, the other purple, which I conceive to be some antient Monumental Relique; which of them you sent I know not, and it was a wonder how I should, for there was no mention in the Letter, more then, *that my Brother had sent me a Cap:* They were delivered me in the company of some Gentlemen that ingaged me to write a few lines upon the purple one, and because they were my Friends I could not deny them; and here I present them to you as they were written.

Haile from the dead, or from Eternity,
Thou Velvit Relique of Antiquity;
Thou which appear'st here in thy purple hew,
Tell's how the dead within their Tombs do doe;
How those Ghosts fare within each Marble Cell,
Where amongst them for Ages thou didst dwell.
What Brain didst cover there? tell us that we
Upon our knees vayle Hats to honour thee:
And if no honour's due, tell us whose pate
Thou basely coveredst, and we'l joyntly hate:
Let's know his name, that we may shew neglect;
If otherwise, we'l kiss thee with respect.
Say, didst thou cover Noll's old brazen head,
Which on the top of Westminster high Lead

Stands on a Pole, erected to the sky,
As a grand Trophy to his memory.
From his perfidious skull didst thou fall down,
In a dis-dain to honour such a crown
With three-pile Velvet? tell me, hadst thou thy fall
From the high top of that Cathedral?
None of the Heroes *of the* Roman *stem,*
Wore ever such a fashion'd Diadem,
Didst thou speak Turkish *in thy unknown dress,*
Thou'dst cover Great Mogull, *and no man less;*
But in thy make methinks thou'rt too too scant,
To be so great a Monarch's Turberant.
The Jews *by* Moses *swear, they never knew*
E're such a Cap drest up in Hebrew:
Nor the strict Order of the Romish *See,*
Wears any Cap that looks so base as thee;
His Holiness hates thy Lowness, and instead,
Wears Peters spired Steeple on his head:
The Cardinals descent is much more flat,
For want of name, baptized is A Hat;
Through each strict Order has my fancy ran,
Both Ambrose, Austin, *and the* Franciscan,
Where I beheld rich Images of the dead,
Yet scarce had one a Cap upon his head:
Episcopacy *wears Caps, but not like thee,*
Though several shap'd, with much diversity:
'Twere best I think I presently should gang
To Edenburghs *strict* Presbyterian;
But Caps they've none, their ears being made so large,
Serves them to turn it like a Garnesey *Barge;*
Those keep their skulls warm against North-west gusts,
When they in Pulpit do poor Calvin *curse.*

Thou art not Fortunatus, *for I daily see,*
That which I wish is farthest off from me:
Thy low-built state none ever did advance,
To christen thee the Cap of Maintenance;
Then till I know from whence thou didst derive,
Thou shalt be call'd, the Cap of Fugitive.

You writ to me this year to send you some Smoak; at that instant it made me wonder that a man of a rational Soul, having both his eyes (blessed be God) should make so unreasonable a demand, when he that has but one eye, nay he which has never a one, and is fain to make use of an Animal conductive for his optick guidance, cannot endure the prejudice that Smoak brings with it: But since you are resolv'd upon it, I'le dispute it no further.

I have sent you that which will make Smoak, (namely Tobacco) though the Funk it self is so slippery that I could not send it, yet I have sent you the Substance from whence the Smoak derives: What use you imploy it to I know not, nor will I be too importunate to know; yet let me tell you this, That if you burn it in a room to affright the Devil from the house, you need not fear but it will work the same effect, as *Tobyes* galls did upon the leacherous Fiend. No more at present. *Vale.*

Your Brother,
G. A.

From *Mary-Land, Dec.* 11. *Anno*

To my Honored Friend Mr. T. B.

SIR,

THis is the entrance upon my fifth year, and I fear 'twill prove the worst: I have been very much troubled with a throng of unruly Distempers, that have (contrary to my expectation) crouded into the Main-guard of my body, when the drowsie Sentinels of my brain were a sleep. Where they got in I know not, but to my grief and terror I find them predominant: Yet as Doctor *Dunne*, sometimes Dean of St. *Pauls, said, That the bodies diseases do but mellow a man for Heaven, and so ferments him in this World, as he shall need no long concoction in the Grave, but hasten to the Resurrection.* And if this were weighed seriously in the Ballance of Religious Reason, the World we dwell in would not seem so inticing and bewitching as it doth.

We are only sent by God of an Errand into this World, and the time that's allotted us for to stay, is only for an Answer. When God my great Master shall in good earnest call me home, which these warnings tell me I have not long to stay, I hope then I shall be able to give him a good account of my Message.

Sir, My weakness gives a stop to my writing, my hand being so shakingly feeble, that I can hardly hold my pen any further then to tell you, I am yours

while I live, which I believe will be but some few minutes.

If this Letter come to you before I'me dead, pray for me, but if I am gone, pray howsoever, for they can do me no harm if they come after me.

Vale.

Your real Friend,

G. A.

From *Mary-Land*, Dec. 13. *Anno*

To my Parents.

FRom the Grave or Receptacle of Death am I raised, and by an omnipotent power made capaple of offering once more my Obedience (that lies close cabbined in the inwardmost apartment of my Soul) at the feet of your immutable Loves.

My good Parents, God hath done marvellous things for me, far beyond my deserts, which at best were preposterously sinful, and unsuitable to the sacred will of an Almighty: *But he is merciful, and his mercy endures for ever.* When sinful man has by his Evils and Iniquities pull'd some penetrating Judgment upon his head, and finding himself immediately not able to stand under so great a burthen as Gods smallest stroke of Justice, lowers the Top-gallant sayle of his Pride, and with an humble submissiveness prostrates himself before the Throne of his sacred Mercy, and

like those three Lepars that sate at the Gate of *Samaria*, resolved, *If we go into the City we shall perish, and if we stay here we shall perish also: Therefore we will throw our selves into the hands of the* Assyrians *and if we perish, we perish:* This was just my condition as to eternal state; my soul was at a stand in this black storm of affliction: I view'd the World, and all that's pleasure in her, and found her altogether flashy, aiery, and full of notional pretensions, and not one firm place where a distressed Soul could hang his trust on. Next I viewed my self, and there I found, instead of good Works, lively Faith, and Charity, a most horrid neast of condemned Evils, bearing a supreme Prerogative over my internal faculties. You'l say here was little hope of rest in this extreme Eclipse, being in a desperate amaze to see my estate so deplorable: My better Angel urged me to deliver up my aggrievances to the Bench of Gods Mercy, the sure support of all distressed Souls: His Heavenly warning, and inward whispers of the good Spirit I was resolv'd to entertain, and not quench, and throw my self into the armes of a loving God, *If I perish, I perish.* 'Tis beyond wonder to think of the love of God extended to sinful man, that in the deepest distresses or agonies of Affliction, when all other things prove rather hinderances then advantages, even at that time God is ready and steps forth to the supportment of his drooping Spirit. Truly, about a fortnight before I wrote this Letter, two of our ablest Physicians ren-

dered me up into the hands of God, the universal Doctor of the whole World, and subscribed with a silent acknowledgement, That all their Arts, screw'd up to the very Zenith of Scholastique perfection, were not capable of keeping me from the Grave at that time: But God, the great preserver of Soul and Body, said contrary to the expectation of humane reason, *Arise, take up thy bed and walk.*

I am now (through the help of my Maker) creeping up to my former strength and vigour, and every day I live, I hope I shall, through the assistance of divine Grace, climbe nearer and nearer to my eternal home.

I have received this year three Letters from you, one by Capt. *Conway* Commander of the *Wheat-Sheaf*, the others by a *Bristol* Ship. Having no more at present to trouble you with, but expecting your promise, I remain as ever,

Your dutiful Son,
G. A.

Mary-Land, April 9. *Anno*

I desire my hearty love may be remembered to my Brother, and the rest of my Kinred.

FINIS.

NOTES.

Note 1, *page* 15.

After having resolved to reprint Alsop's early account of Maryland, as an addition to my *Bibliotheca Americana*, I immediately fell in with a difficulty which I had not counted on. After much inquiry and investigation, I could find no copy to print from among all my earnest book collecting acquaintances. At length some one informed me that Mr. Bancroft the historian had a copy in his library. I immediately took the liberty of calling on him and making known my wants, he generously offered to let me have the use of it for the purpose stated, I carried the book home, had it carefully copied, but unfortunately during the process I discovered the text was imperfect as well as deficient in both portrait and map. Like Sisyphus I had to begin anew, and do nearly all my labor over; I sent to London to learn if the functionaries in the British Museum would permit a tracing of the portrait and map to be made from their copy, the answer returned was, that they would or could not permit this, but I might perfect my text if I so choosed by copying from theirs. Here I was once more at sea without compass, rudder, or chart: I made known my condition to an eminent and judicious collector of old American literature in the city of New York, he very frankly informed me that he could aid me in my difficulty by letting me have the use of a copy, which would relieve me from my present dilemma. I was greatly rejoiced at this discovery as well as by the generosity of the owner. The following day the book was put into my possession, and so by the aid of it was enabled to complete the text. Here another difficulty burst into view, this copy had no portrait. That being the only defect in perfecting a copy of Alsop's book, I now resolved to proceed and publish it without a portrait, but perhaps fortunately, making known this resolve to some of the knowing ones in book gathering, they remonstrated against this course, adding that it would ruin the book in the estimation of all who would buy such a rarity. I was inclined to listen favorably to this protest, and therefore had to commence a new effort to obtain a portrait. I then laid about me again to try and procure a copy that had one: I knew that not more than three or four collectors in the country who were likely to have such an heir-loom. To one living at a considerable distance from New York I took the liberty of addressing a letter on the subject, wherein I made known my difficulties. To my great gratification this courteous and confiding gentleman not only immediately made answer, but sent a perfect copy of this rare and much wanted book for my use. I immediately had the

portrait and map reproduced by the photo-lithographic process. During the time the book was in my possession, which was about ten days, so fearful was I that any harm should befall it that I took the precaution to wrap up the precious little volume in tissue paper and carry it about with me all the time in my side pocket, well knowing that if it was either injured or lost I could not replace it. I understand that a perfect copy of the original in the London market would bring fifty pounds sterling. I had the satisfaction to learn it reached the generous owner in safety.

Had I known the difficulties I had to encounter of procuring a copy of the original of Alsop's singular performance, I most certainly would never have undertaken to reproduce it in America. Mr. Jared Sparks told me that he had a like difficulty to encounter when he undertook to write the life of Ledyard the traveler. Said he: "a copy of his journal I could find nowhere to purchase, at length I was compelled to borrow a copy on very humiliating conditions; the owner perhaps valued it too highly." I may add that I had nearly as much difficulty in securing an editor, as I had in procuring a perfect copy. However on this point I at last was very fortunate.

WILLIAM GOWANS.

115 Nassau street, March 23d, 1869.

Note 2, *page* 19.

Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, eldest son of George Calvert, 1st Lord Baltimore, and Anne Wynne of Hertingfordbury, England, was born in 1606. He succeeded to the title April 15, 1632, and married Anne, daughter of Lord Arundel, whose name was given to a county in Maryland. His rule over Maryland, disturbed in Cromwell's time, but restored under Charles II, has always been extolled. He died Nov. 30, 1675, covered with age and reputation.—*O'Callaghan's N. Y. Col. Doc.*, II. p. 74.

Note 3, *page* 19.

Avalon, the territory in Newfoundland, of which the first Lord Baltimore obtained a grant in 1623, derived its name from the spot in England where, as tradition said, Christianity was first preached by Joseph of Arimathea.

Note 4, *page* 21.

Owen Feltham, as our author in his errata correctly gives the name, was an author who enjoyed a great reputation in his day. His *Resolves* appeared first about 1620, and in 1696 had reached the eleventh edition. They were once reprinted in the 18th century, and in full or in part four times in the

19th, and an edition appeared in America about 1830. Hallam in spite of this popularity calls him "labored, artificial and shallow."

Note 5, *page* 24.

Burning on the hand was not so much a punishment as a mark on those who, convicted of felony, pleaded the benefit of clergy, which they were allowed to do once only.

Note 6, *page* 25.

Literally: "Good wine needs no sign."

Note 7, *page* 26.

Billingsgate is the great fish market of London, and the scurrilous tongues of the fish women have made the word synonymous with vulgar abuse.

Note 8, *page* 28.

Alsop though cautiously avoiding Maryland politics, omits no fling at the Puritans. Pride was a parliament colonel famous for *Pride's Purge.*

Notes 9, 10, *pages* 31, 33.

William Bogherst, and H. W., Master of Arts, have eluded all our efforts to immortalize them.

Note 11, *page* 35.

Chesapeake is said to be K'tchisipik, Great Water, in Algonquin.

Note 12, *page* 38.

Less bombast and some details as to the botany of Maryland would have been preferable.

Note 13, *page* 39.

The American deer (*Cariacus Virginianus*) is here evidently meant.

Note 14, *page* 39.

Whetston's (Whetstone) park: "A dilapidated street in Lincoln's Inn Fields, at the back of Holborn. It contains scarcely anything but old, half-tumble down houses; not a living plant of any kind adorns its nakedness, so it is presumable that as a park it never had an existence, or one so remote that even tradition has lost sight of the fact."

Note 15, *page* 39.

The animals here mentioned are the black wolf (*canis occidentalis*), the black bear, the panther (*felis concolor*).

Note 16, *page* 40.

These animals are well known, the elk (*alces Americanus*), cat o' the mountain or catamount (*felis concolor*), raccoon (*procyon lotor*), fox (*vulpes fulvus*), beaver (*castor fiber*), otter (*lutra*), opossum (*didelphys Virginiana*), hare, squirrel, musk-rat (*fiber zibethicus*). The monack is apparently the Maryland marmot or woodchuck (*arctomys monax*).

Note 17, *page* 40.

The domestic animals came chiefly from Virginia. As early as May 27, 1634, they got 100 swine from Accomac, with 30 cows, and they expected goats and hens (*Relation of Maryland*, 1634). Horses and sheep had to be imported from England, Virginia being unable to give any. Yet in 1679 Dankers and Sluyters, the Labadists, say: "Sheep they have none."—*Collections Long Island Hist. Soc.*, I, p. 218.

Note 18, *page* 41.

Alluding to the herds of swine kept by the Gadarenes, into one of which the Saviour allowed the devil named Legion to enter.

Note 19, *page* 42.

The abundance of these birds is mentioned in the *Relations of Maryland*, 1634, p. 22, and 1635, p. 23. The Labadists with whose travels the Hon.

H. C. Murphy has enriched our literature, found the geese in 1679–80 so plentiful and noisy as to prevent their sleeping, and the ducks filling the sky like a cloud.—*Long Island Hist. Coll.*, I, pp. 195, 204.

Note 20, *page* 43.

Alsop makes no allusion to the cultivation of maize, yet the Labadists less than twenty years after describe it at length as the principal grain crop of Maryland.—*Ib.*, p. 216.

Note 21, *page* 45.

Considering the facts of history, this picture is sadly overdrawn, Maryland having had its full share of civil war.

Note 22, *page* 46.

The fifth monarchy men were a set of religionists who arose during the Puritan rule in England. They believed in a fifth universal monarchy of which Christ was to be the head, under whom they, his saints, were to possess the earth. In 1660 they caused an outbreak in London, in which many were killed and others tried and executed. Their leader was one Venner. The Adamites, a gnostic sect, who pretended that regenerated man should go naked like Adam and Eve in their state of innocence, were revived during the Puritan rule in England; and in our time in December, 1867, we have seen the same theory held and practiced in Newark, N. J.

Note 23, *page* 46.

In the provisional act, passed in the first assembly, March 19, 1638, and entitled "An Act ordaining certain laws for the government of this province," the twelfth section required that "every person planting tobacco shall plant and tend two acres of corn." A special act was introduced the same session and read twice, but not passed. A new law was passed, however, Oct. 23, 1640, renewed Aug. 1, 1642, April 21, 1649, Oct. 20, 1654, April 12, 1662, and made perpetual in 1676. These acts imposed a fine of fifty pounds of tobacco for every half acre the offender fell short, besides fifty pounds of the same current leaf as constables' fees. It was to this persistent enforcement of the cultivation of cereals that Maryland so soon became the granary of New England.

Note 24, *page* 47.

The Assembly, or House of Burgesses, at first consisted of all freemen, but they gradually gave place to delegates. The influence of the proprietary, however, decided the selection. In 1650 fourteen burgesses met as delegates or representatives of the several hundreds, there being but two counties organized, St. Marys and the Isle of Kent. Ann Arundel, called at times Providence county, was erected April 29, 1650. Patuxent was erected under Cromwell in 1654.—*Bacon's Laws of Maryland*, 1765.

Note 25, *page* 47.

Things had changed when the *Sot Weed Factor* appeared, as the author of that satirical poem dilates on the litigious character of the people.

Note 26, *page* 47.

The allusion here I have been unable to discover.

Note 27, *page* 48.

The colony seems to have justified some of this eulogy by its good order, which is the more remarkable, considering the height of party feeling.

Note 28, *page* 48.

Halberdeers; the halberd was smaller than the partisan, with a sharp pointed blade, with a point on one side like a pole-axe.

Note 29, *page* 49.

Newgate, Ludgate and Bridewell are the well known London prisons.

Note 30, *page* 50.

Our author evidently failed from this cause.

Note 31, *page* 50.

A fling at the various Puritan schools, then active at home and abroad.

Note 32, *page* 50.

The first Quakers in Maryland were Elizabeth Harris, Josiah Cole, and Thomas Thurston, who visited it in 1657, but as early as July 23, 1659, the governor and council issued an order to seize any Quakers and whip them from constable to constable out of the province. Yet in spite of this they had settled meetings as early as 1661, and Peter Sharpe, the Quaker physician, appears as a landholder in 1665, the very year of Alsop's publication.—*Norris, Early Friends or Quakers in Maryland* (Maryland Hist. Soc., March, 1862).

Note 33, *page* 50.

The Baptists centering in Rhode Island, extended across Long Island to New Jersey, and thence to New York city; but at this time had not reached the south.

Note 34, *page* 56.

A copy of the usual articles is given in the introduction. Alsop here refutes current charges against the Marylanders for their treatment of servants. Hammond, in his *Leah and Rachel*, p. 12, says: "The labour servants are put to is not so hard, nor of such continuance as husbandmen nor handecraftmen are kept at in England. . . . . The women are not (as is reported) put into the ground to worke, but occupie such domestic imployments and housewifery as in England."

Note 35, *page* 59.

Laws as to the treatment of servants were passed in the Provisional act of 1638, and at many subsequent assemblies.

Notes 36, 37, *pages* 59, 61.

Lewknors lane or Charles street was in Drury lane, in the parish of St. Giles.—*Seymour's History of London*, II, p. 767. Finsbury is still a well known quarter, in St. Luke's parish, Middlesex.

Note 38, *page* 65.

Nicholas Culpepper, "student in physic and astrology," whose *English Physician*, published in 1652, ran through many editions, and is still a book published and sold.

Note 39, *page* 65.

Dogs dung, used in dressing morocco, is euphemized into *album græcum*, and is also called *pure;* those who gather it being still styled in England pure-finders.—*Mayhew, London Labor and London Poor*, II, p. 158.

Note 40, *page* 65.

He has not mentioned tobacco as a crop, but describes it fully a few pages after. In Maryland as in Virginia it was the currency. Thus in 1638 an act authorized the erection of a water-mill to supersede hand-mills for grinding grain, and the cost was limited to 20,000 lbs. of tobacco.—*McSherry's History of Maryland*, p. 56. The Labadists in their *Travels* (p. 216) describe the cultivation at length. Tobacco at this time paid two shillings English a cask export duty in Maryland, and two-pence a pound duty on its arrival in England, besides weighing and other fees.

Note 41, *page* 66.

The Parson of Pancras is unknown to me: but the class he represents is certainly large.

Note 42, *page* 66.

The buffalo was not mentioned in the former list, and cannot be considered as synonymous with elk.

Note 43, *page* 67.

For satisfactory and correct information of the present commerce and condition of Maryland, the reader is referred to the *Census of the United States* in 4 vols., 4to, published at Washington, 1865.

Note 44, *page* 69.

This is a curious observation as to New England trade. A century later Hutchinson represents Massachusetts as receiving Maryland flour from the Pennsylvania mills, and paying in money and bills of exchange.—*Hist. of Massachusetts*, p. II, 397.

Note 45, *page* 69.

The trade with Barbadoes, now insignificant, was in our colonial times of great importance to all the colonies. Barbadoes is densely peopled and thoroughly cultivated; its imports and exports are each about five millions of dollars annually.

Note 46, *page* 71.

The Susquehannas. This *Relation* is one of the most valuable portions of Alsop's tract, as no other Maryland document gives as much concerning this tribe, which nevertheless figures extensively in Maryland annals. Dutch and Swedish writers speak of a tribe called Minquas (Minquosy, Machœretini in *De Laet*, p. 76); the French in Canada (*Champlain*, the *Jesuit Relations*, *Gendron*, *Particularitez du Pays des Hurons*, p. 7, etc.), make frequent allusion to the Gandastogués (more briefly Andastés), a tribe friendly to their allies the Hurons, and sturdy enemies of the Iroquois; later still Pennsylvania writers speak of the Conestogas, the tribe to which Logan belonged, and the tribe which perished at the hands of the Paxton boys. Although Gallatin in his map, followed by Bancroft, placed the Andastés near Lake Erie, my researches led me to correct this, and identify the Susquehannas, Minqua, Andastés or Gandastogués and Conestogas as being all the same tribe, the first name being apparently an appellation given them by the Virginia tribes; the second that given them by the Algonquins on the Delaware; while Gandastogué as the French, or Conestoga as the English wrote it, was their own tribal name, meaning cabin-pole men, *Natio Perticarum*, from Andasta, a cabin-pole (map in Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*). I forwarded a paper on the subject to Mr. Schoolcraft, for insertion in the government work issuing under his supervision. It was inserted in the last volume without my name, and ostensibly as Mr. Schoolcraft's. I then gave it with my name in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. II, p. 294. The result arrived at there has been accepted by Bancroft, in his large paper edition, by Parkman, in his *Jesuits in the Wilderness*, by Dr. O'Callaghan, S. F. Streeter, Esq., of the Maryland Historical Society, and students generally.

From the Virginian, Dutch, Swedish and French authorities, we can thus give their history briefly.

The territory now called Canada, and most of the northern portion of the United States, from Lake Superior and the Mississippi to the mouth of the St. Lawrence and Chesapeake bay were, when discovered by Europeans, occupied by two families of tribes, the Algonquin and the Huron Iroquois. The former which included all the New England tribes, the Micmacs, Mohegans, Delawares, Illinois, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, Sacs, Foxes, Miamis, and many of the Maryland and Virginian tribes surrounded the more powerful and civilized tribes who have been called Huron Iroquois, from the names of the two most powerful nations of the group, the Hurons or Wyandots of Upper Canada, and the Iroquois or Five Nations of New York. Besides these the group included the Neuters on the Niagara, the Dinondadies in Upper Canada, the Eries south of the lake of that name, the Andastogués or Susquehannas on that river, the Nottaways and some other Virginian tribes, and finally the Tuscaroras in North Carolina and perhaps the Cherokees, whose language presents many striking points of similarity.

Both these groups of tribes claimed a western origin, and seem, in their progress east, to have driven out of Ohio the Quappas, called by the Algonquins, Alkansas or Allegewi, who retreated down the Ohio and Mississippi to the district which has preserved the name given them by the Algonquins.

After planting themselves on the Atlantic border, the various tribes seem to have soon divided and become embroiled in war. The Iroquois, at first inferior to the Algonquins were driven out of the valley of the St. Lawrence into the lake region of New York, where by greater cultivation, valor and union they soon became superior to the Algonquins of Canada and New York, as the Susquehannas who settled on the Susquehanna did over the tribes in New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia. (*Du Ponceau's Campanius*, p. 158.) Prior to 1600 the Susquehannas and the Mohawks, the most eastern Iroquois tribe, came into collision, and the Susquehannas nearly exterminated the Mohawks in a war which lasted ten years. (*Relation de la Nouv. France*, 1659–60, p. 28.)

In 1608 Captain Smith, in exploring the Chesapeake and its tributaries, met a party of sixty of these Sasquesahanocks as he calls them (I, p. 120–1), and he states that they were still at war with the Massawomekes or Mohawks. (*De Laet Novus Orbis*, p. 79.)

DeVries, in his *Voyages* (Murphy's translation, p. 41–3), found them in 1633 at war with the Armewamen and Sankiekans, Algonquin tribes on the Delaware, maintaining their supremacy by butchery. They were friendly to the Dutch. When the Swedes in 1638 settled on the Delaware, they renewed the friendly intercourse begun by the Dutch. They purchased lands of the ruling tribe and thus secured their friendship. (*Hazard's Annals*, p. 48). They carried the terror of their arms southward also, and

in 1634 to 1644 they waged war on the Yaomacoes, the Piscataways and Patuxents (*Bozman's Maryland*, II, p. 161), and were so troublesome that in 1642 Governor Calvert, by proclamation, declared them public enemies.

When the Hurons in Upper Canada in 1647 began to sink under the fearful blows dealt by the Five Nations, the Susquehannas sent an embassy to offer them aid against the common enemy. (*Gendron, Quelques Particularitez du Pays des Hurons*, p. 7), Nor was the offer one of little value, for the Susquehannas could put in the field 1,300 warriors (*Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1647–8, p. 58) trained to the use of fire arms and European modes of war by three Swedish soldiers whom they had obtained to instruct them. (*Proud's Pennsylvania*, I, p. 111; *Bozman's Maryland*, II, p. 273. Before interposing in the war, they began by negotiation, and sent an embassy to Onondaga to urge the cantons to peace. (*Relation*, 1648, p. 58). The Iroquois refused, and the Hurons, sunk in apathy, took no active steps to secure the aid of the friendly Susquehannas.

That tribe, however, maintained its friendly intercourse with its European neighbors, and in 1652 Sawahegeh, Auroghteregh, Scarhuhadigh, Rutchogah and Nathheldianeh, in presence of a Swedish deputy, ceded to Maryland all the territory from the Patuxent river to Palmer's island, and from the Choptauk to the northeast branch north of Elk river. (*Bozman's Maryland*, II, p. 683).

Four years later the Iroquois, grown insolent by their success in almost annihilating their kindred tribes north and south of Lake Erie, the Wyandots, Dinondadies, Neuters and Eries, provoked a war with the Susquehannas, plundering their hunters on Lake Ontario. (*Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1657, pp. 11, 18).

It was at this important period in their history that Alsop knew and described them to us.

In 1661 the small-pox, that scourge of the native tribes, broke out in their town, sweeping off many and enfeebling the nation terribly. War had now begun in earnest with the Five Nations; and though the Susquehannas had some of their people killed near their town (*Hazard's Annals*, 341–7), they in turn pressed the Cayugas so hard that some of them retreated across Lake Ontario to Canada (*Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1661, p. 39, 1668, p. 20). They also kept the Senecas in such alarm that they no longer ventured to carry their peltries to New York, except in caravans escorted by six hundred men, who even took a most circuitous route. (*Relation*, 1661, p. 40). A law of Maryland passed May 1, 1661, authorized the governor to aid the Susquehannas.

Smarting under constant defeat, the Five Nations solicited French aid (*Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1662–3, p. 11, 1663–4, p. 33; *Charlevoix*, II, p. 134), but in April, 1663, the Western cantons raised an army of eight hundred men to invest and storm the fort of the Susquehannas. They embarked on Lake Ontario, according to the French account, and then went overland to the Susquehanna. On reaching the fort, however, they found

it well defended on the river side, and on the land side with two bastions in European style with cannon mounted and connected by a double curtain of large trees. After some trifling skirmishes the Iroquois had recourse to stratagem. They sent in a party of twenty-five men to treat of peace and ask provisions to enable them to return. The Susquehannas admitted them, but immediately burned them all alive before the eyes of their countrymen. (*Relation de la Nouvelle France,* 1663, p. 10). The Pennsylvania writers, (*Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania,* p. 346) make the Iroquois force one thousand six hundred, and that of the Susquehannas only one hundred. They add that when the Iroquois retreated, the Susquehannas pursued them, killing ten and taking as many.

After this the war was carried on in small parties, and Susquehanna prisoners were from time to time burned at Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca and Cayuga (*Relations de la Nouvelle France,* 1668 to 1673), and their prisoners doubtless at Canoge on the Susquehanna. In the fall of 1669 the Susquehannas, after defeating the Cayugas, offered peace, but the Cayugas put their ambassador and his nephew to death, after retaining him five or six months; the Oneidas having taken nine Susquehannas and sent some to Cayuga, with forty wampum belts to maintain the war. (*Relation de la Nouvelle France,* 1670, p. 68.)

At this time the great war chief of the Susquehannas was one styled Hochitagete or Barefoot (*Relation de la Nouvelle France,* 1670, p. 47); and raving women and crafty medicine men deluded the Iroquois with promises of his capture and execution at the stake (*Relation,* 1670, p. 47), and a famous medicine man of Oneida appeared after death to order his body to be taken up and interred on the trail leading to the Susquehannas as the only means of saving that canton from ruin. (*Relation,* 1672, p. 20.)

Towards the summer of 1672 a body of forty Cayugas descended the Susquehanna in canoes, and twenty Senecas went by land to attack the Susquehannas in their fields; but a band of sixty Andasté or Susquehanna boys, the oldest not over sixteen, attacked the Senecas, and routed them, killing one brave and taking another. Flushed with victory they pushed on to attack the Cayugas, and defeated them also, killing eight and wounding with arrow, knife and hatchet, fifteen or sixteen more, losing, however, fifteen or sixteen of their gallant band. (*Relation,* 1672, p. 24.)

At this time the Susquehannas or Andastés were so reduced by war and pestilence that they could muster only three hundred warriors. In 1675, however, the Susquehannas were completely overthrown (*Etat Present,* 1675, manuscript; *Relation,* 1676, p. 2; *Relations Inédites,* II, p. 44; *Colden's Five Nations,* I, p. 126), but unfortunately we have no details whatever as to the forces which effected it, or the time or manner of their utter defeat.

A party of about one hundred retreated into Maryland, and occupied some abandoned Indian forts. Accused of the murder of some settlers, apparently slain by the Senecas, they sent five of their chiefs to the Maryland and Virginia troops, under Washington and Brent, who went out in

pursuit. Although coming as deputies, and showing the Baltimore medal and certificate of friendship, these chiefs were cruelly put to death. The enraged Susquehannas then began a terrible border war, which was kept till their utter destruction (S. F. Streeter's Destruction of the Susquehannas, *Historical Magazine*, I, p. 65). The rest of the tribe, after making overtures to Lord Baltimore, submitted to the Five Nations, and were allowed to retain their ancient grounds. When Pennsylvania was settled, they became known as Conestogas, and were always friendly to the colonists of Penn, as they had been to the Dutch and Swedes. In 1701 Canoodagtoh, their king, made a treaty with Penn, and in the document they are styled Minquas, Conestogos or Susquehannas. They appear as a tribe in a treaty in 1742, but were dwindling away. In 1763 the feeble remnant of the tribe became involved in the general suspicion entertained by the colonists against the red men, arising out of massacres on the borders. To escape danger the poor creatures took refuge in Lancaster jail, and here they were all butchered by the Paxton boys, who burst into the place. Parkman in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, p. 414, details the sad story.

The last interest of this unfortunate tribe centres in Logan, the friend of the white man, whose speech is so familiar to all, that we must regret that it has not sustained the historical scrutiny of Brantz Mayer (*Tahgahjute; or, Logan and Capt. Michael Cresap*, Maryland Hist. Soc., May, 1851; and 8vo, Albany, 1867). Logan was a Conestoga, in other words a Susquehanna.

Note 47, *page* 71.

The language of the Susquehannas, as Smith remarks, differed from that of the Virginian tribes generally. As already stated, it was one of the dialects of the Huron-Iroquois, and its relation to other members of the family may be seen by the following table of the numerals:

	Susquehanna or Minqua.	Hochelaga.	Huron.	Mohawk.	Onondaga.
1.	Onskat,	Segada,	Eskate,	Easka,	Unskat.
2.	Tiggene,	Tigneny,	Téni,	Tekeni,	Tegni.
3.	Axe,	Asche,	Hachin,	Aghsea,	Achen.
4.	Raiene,	Honnacon,	Dac,	Kieri,	Gayeri.
5.	Wisck,	Ouiscon,	Ouyche,	Wisk,	Wisk.
6.	Jaiack,	Indahir,	Houhahea,	Yayak,	Haiak.
7.	Tzadack,	Ayaga,	Sotaret,	Jatak,	Tchiatak.
8.	Tickerom,	Addegue,	Attaret,	Satego,	Tegeron.
9.	Waderom,	Madellon,	Nechon,	Tiyohto,	Waderom,
10.	Assan,	Assem,		Oyeri.	

Note 48, *page* 73.

Smith thus describes them: "Sixty of those Sasquesahanocks came to vs with skins, Bowes, Arrows, Targets, Beads, swords and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English; yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring vs as Gods. Those are the strangest people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them as a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares, and Woolues, some have Cassacks made of Beares heads and skinnes, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the Beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another Beares face split behind him, and at the end of the Nose hung a Pawe, the halfe sleeues comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares and the armes through the mouth with the pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Wolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell, his tobacco pipe three-quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Deere or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines; with Bowes, Arrowes and Clubs, suitable to their greatnesse. They are scarce known to Powhatan. They can make near 600 able men, and are palisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes, their mortal enemies. Five of their chief Werowances came aboord vs and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose leg was three-quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were five-quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white christall-like stone, in form of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a Woolues skinne at his backe for his quiver, his bow in one hand and his club in the other, as described."—*Smith's Voyages* (Am. ed.), I, p. 119–20. Tattooing referred to by our author, was an ancient Egyptian custom, and is still retained by the women. See *Lane's Modern Egyptians*, etc. It was forbidden to the Jews in *Leviticus*, 19: 28.

Note 49, *page* 74.

Purchas, his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World, and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places discovered, from the Creation unto this present," 1 vol., folio, 1613. In spite of Alsop, Purchas is still highly esteemed.

Note 50, *page* 75.

As to their treatment of prisoners, see *Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages,* II, p. 260.

Note 51, *page* 75.

Smith thus locates their town: "The Sasquesahannocks inhabit vpon the cheefe spring of these foure branches of the Bayes head, one day's journey higher than our barge could passe for rocks," vol. I, p. 182. Campanius thus describes their town, which he represents as twelve miles from New Sweden: "They live on a high mountain, very steep and difficult to climb; there they have a fort or square building, surrounded with palisades. There they have guns and small iron cannon, with which they shoot and defend themselves, and take with them when they go to war."—*Campanius's Nye Sverige,* p. 181; Du Ponceau's translation, p. 158. A view of a Sasquesahannock town is given in *Montanus, De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld* (1671), p. 136, based evidently on Smith. De Lisle's Map, dated June, 1718, lays down Canoge, Fort des Indiens Andastés ou Susquehanocs at about 40° N.; but I find the name nowhere else.

Note 52, *page* 77.

Scalping was practiced by the Scythians. (*Herodotus,* book IV, and in the second book of *Macchabees,* VII, 4, 7). Antiochus is said to have caused two of the seven Macchabee brothers to be scalped. "The skin of the head with the hairs being drawn off." The torture of prisoners as here described originated with the Iroquois, and spread to nearly all the North American tribes. It was this that led the Algonquins to give the Iroquois tribes the names Magoué, Nadoué or Nottaway, which signified cruel. *Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages,* II, p. 287.

Note 53, *page* 78.

The remarks here as to religion are vague. The Iroquois and Hurons recognized Aireskoi or Agreskoe, as the great deity, styling him also Teharonhiawagon. As to the Hurons, see *Sagard, Histoire du Canada,* p. 485. The sacrifice of a child, as noted by Alsop, was unknown in the other tribes of this race, and is not mentioned by Campanius in regard to this one.

Note 54, *page* 78.

The priests were the medicine men in all probability; no author mentioning any class that can be regarded properly as priests.

Note 55, *page* 78.

The burial rites here described resemble those of the Iroquois (*Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages*, II, pp. 389, 407) and of the Hurons, as described by Sagard (*Histoire du Canada*, p. 702) in the manner of placing the dead body in a sitting posture; but there it was wrapped in furs, encased in bark and set upon a scaffold till the feast of the dead.

Note 56, *page* 79.

Sagard, in his *Huron Dictionary*, gives village, *andata*; he is in the fort or village, *andatagon;* which is equivalent to *Connadago*, *nd* and *nn* being frequently used for each other.

Note 57, *page* 80.

For the condition of the women in a kindred tribe, compare *Sagard, Histoire du Canada*, p. 272; *Grand Voyage*, p. 130; *Perrot, Moeurs et Coustumes des Sauvages*, p. 30.

Note 58, *page* 80.

Among the Iroquois the husband elect went to the wife's cabin and sat down on the mat opposite the fire. If she accepted him she presented him a bowl of hominy and sat down beside him, turning modestly away. He then ate some and soon after retired.—*Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages*, I, p, 566.

Note 59, *page* 81.

Sagard, in his *Histoire du Canada*, p. 185, makes a similar remark as to the Hurons, a kindred tribe, men and women acting as here stated, and he says that in this they resembled the ancient Egyptians. Compare *Hennepin, Moeurs des Sauvages*, p. 54; *Description d'un Pays plus grand que l'Europe, Voyages au Nord*, V, p. 341.

Note 60, *page* 96.

This characteristic of the active trading propensities of the early settlers will apply to the present race of Americans in a fourfold degree.

Note 61, *page* 96.

One who brought goods to Maryland without following such advice as Alsop gives, describes in Hudibrastic verse his doleful story in the *Sot Weed Factor*, recently reprinted.

Note 62, *page* 96.

For an account of this gentleman, see ante, p. 13.

Note 63, *page* 97.

The rebellion in Maryland, twice alluded to by our author in his letters, was a very trifling matter. On the restoration of Charles II, Lord Baltimore sent over his brother Philip Calvert as governor, with authority to proceed against Governor Fendall, who, false alike to all parties, was now scheming to overthrow the proprietary government. The new governor was instructed on no account to permit Fendall to escape with his life; but Philip Calvert was more clement than Lord Baltimore, and though Fendall made a fruitless effort to excite the people to opposition, he was, on his voluntary submission, punished by a merely short imprisonment. This clemency he repaid by a subsequent attempt to excite a rebellion.—*McMahon's History of Maryland*, pp. 213–14, citing Council Proceedings from 1656 to 1668, liber H. H., 74 to 82.

THE END.

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